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NOTE

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Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2459th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 1 August 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2459)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
   Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
   Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
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   Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890).

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Since this is the first meeting of the Council in August, I should like to express, on behalf of the Council, profound gratitude to the President for the month of July, Mr. Ling Qing, the representative of China, for the great diplomatic skill, patience and courtesy with which he conducted the Council's proceedings last month.

2. I should like to add that, as everyone can see, we are not meeting in the customary Council chamber and that, in a purely physical sense, the President is seated higher and, unfortunately, farther away from the members of the Council. I should like to assure all my colleagues that this is not arrogance on my part, nor any attempt—which would be absurd—to tamper with the rules of procedure. Indeed, I should like to see the Council meeting once again in its own chamber as soon as possible so that the President may once again find himself immersed, as it were, like a fish in water, among his fellow members of the Council.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
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3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2401st, 2412th to 2414th, 2438th and 2457th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Qatar, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Caballero Rodríguez

(Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Kirça (Turkey), Mr. Al-Qasimi (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Bangladesh, Djibouti, Iraq, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Sabbagh (Bahrain), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Houfane (Djibouti), Mr. Mohammad (Iraq), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ould Hamody (Mauritania), Mr. Ali (Oman), Mr. Zowawi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Madar (Somalia), Mr. Elfaki (Sudan) and Mr. Lessir (Tunisia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have before them document S/15895, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the following countries: Algeria, Bahrain, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

6. The first speaker is Mr. Clovis Maksoud, permanent observer of the League of Arab States, whom the Council invited at its 2412th meeting in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

7. Mr. MAKSOUD (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am honoured, Sir, to extend congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, not only because of your well-known wisdom and your knowledge of details and the essence of things, but also because the country you represent is for all of us one of the friendly major Powers whose policies are characterized by independence and objectivity. We hope that relations between the Arab and French peoples will continue, as always, to be marked by great and deep friendship.

8. I should like also to commend the wise presidency of your predecessor, the representative of China, whose tenure was characterized by his well-known statesmanship and wisdom. Indeed, the Arab people feel extremely grateful to the great people of China for their unceasing support, on all levels, of Arab causes.

9. The painful and tragic events that occurred in the Palestinian city of Al-Khalil and led to the martyrdom of a number of students at the Islamic University are not isolated events. They represent not only criminal acts by the occupying authorities but also the expression of a consistent pattern in Israel's settlements policy in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. Hence, what happened in Al-Khalil does not constitute a transient phenomenon; it must be looked at as the crystallization and continuous expression of the fact that Israel intends to commit these barbaric acts in the occupied Arab territories—particularly in Palestine—because it seeks to displace the population by inflicting all manner of oppression and torture in order to be able to undertake the process of Judaization as a prelude to the annexation and assimilation of land and the displacement of populations.

10. It follows that the events that occurred in the city of Al-Khalil are part of a whole, the most recent expression of a consistent pattern, the reflection of a deliberate policy. The whole process of establishing settlements—which has been declared null and void on many occasions—is a policy designed to pre-empt the establishment of any national entity for the Palestinians and to create the prelude to the realization of the Zionist dogma of annexing and assimilating lands into so-called Greater Israel.

11. Hence, when the Arabs have recourse to the Security Council as the supreme international authority responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, they do so out of respect for the United Nations and because of their commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, out of respect for international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and out of respect for all the organs and institutions of the United Nations, through which the Organization is endeavouring to restore a just peace in the region and throughout the world.

12. Moreover, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, at a meeting held with members of the United Nations Secretariat about a month ago, affirmed the firm resolve of the Arabs to encourage the United Nations to seek more credibility for its resolutions, more efficiency for its organs and more reliability for the Articles of the Charter. Hence, when the Arabs have recourse to the Security Council and the United Nations, it is proof of their commitment to principle; it is the expression of their conviction, in addition to the expression of a need. That is why the Arabs are most concerned about the credibility of the United Nations; they would like its resolutions, in particular those of the Council, to regain their prestige and their effectiveness, so that no one can sav

that the Council's resolutions have almost become dead letters that are duly entered in legal annals but are not applicable or viable. The credibility gap between the declarations of the United Nations and its actions was brought about by Israel and the other racist entity, South Africa, with a view to preventing the United Nations from assuming its duties and performing its functions *vis-à-vis* the world and humanity by implementing its Charter and resolutions.

13. It is truly painful to see a major Power, the United States, on many occasions condoning those who, like Israel, are attempting to undermine the credibility of the United Nations and particularly the Security Council. One therefore wonders about the commitment to the spirit and letter of the law that the United States attempts at times to invoke, to the effect that the actions by the Israeli settler-colonialists in Al-Khalil are an internal issue and that the Israeli military and judicial authorities are undertaking an investigation—as though the arming of those whom Israel calls "fanatics" were not part and parcel of the Israeli settler entity in the West Bank, as though the arming of those people had not been carried out by licence issued by Israel itself, as though the weapons they use against the innocent Palestinians were illegal in the Israeli concept, as though they were insurgents against the Israeli authorities and not in fact a complementary weapon serving Israel's expansionist aims in occupied Palestine.

14. And so we wonder, together with the rest of the world, how those settlers can claim that they want to settle in the Arab city of Al-Khalil on the basis that there had once been Jews in Al-Khalil. If we applied this same logic—and we are ready to apply it—it would be imperative for the people of Palestine who were displaced from their cities—Haifa, Jaffa, Lod, Acre and hundreds of other cities, towns and villages in Palestine—to return, although there is no comparison between the legitimate right of Palestinians to return to their cities, towns, and villages and the fabricated right of persons to claim Al-Khalil because they came from Brooklyn and other American cities—a "right" imposed through suppression and occupation. By contrast, the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, their cities, towns and villages in all of Palestine is continuous, inherited and internationally recognized.

15. Hence, these spurious claims invoked by Israel through the presence and proliferation of its settlements are designed to pre-empt Palestinian national unity, because Israel contests the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination on what is part of its own land and country.

16. Documents abound—and further evidence and proof emerge day after day—attesting to the violation by the occupier Israel of the national, human and legal rights of the Palestinian people.

17. The world grows more convinced daily that Israel's actions in the occupied territories are in contravention of international law, in violation of Council resolutions, a breach of the Charter and even a breach of the declared demands of the United States, Israel's only ally in the area. How else can one explain the failure of the United States to join in condemning Israel for its actions that are anomalous under American law and in the context of declared United States policies? How can one explain that, whenever we come to the Council, the United States says it is undertaking initiatives, whether those of Camp David in the past, Reagan's initiative of about a year ago, or other frequent initiatives designed to convince us of the non-viability of resort to the Council? These initiatives have been called "the only game in town": either acquiesce in this "game" or be prevented from exercising any other diplomatic and political options.

18. Let us assume that we believe that United States initiatives, since they are undertaken by a super-Power, deserve our attention and that they form part of our policies. For the sake of argument, let us say that we depend on the seriousness and viability of these initiatives. We did that by informing the United States that President Reagan's initiative[1] was sufficiently worthy of attention for us to acknowledge the rightness of some of its features. We have repeatedly informed the United States that we have reservations concerning other aspects of the Reagan initiative. We agreed, selectively, to study the aspects of this initiative; but Begin and Israel rejected it 24 hours after it was declared. What was the result? Israel's rejection of the Reagan initiative has become part of the considerations borne in mind by the United States Administration in dealing with the Middle East problem. Yet, the Arabs, at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, were prepared to make concessions and to hold a dialogue on this initiative. That willingness, however, was interpreted as Arab reluctance to deal seriously with the United States. Such inverted logic quickly led to even greater reservations on the part of many Arabs because, although willing to depend on the Reagan initiative and the authority of the United States over Israel, they do not want to be captives.

[*The speaker spoke in English.*]

Our betting on American initiatives should not and will not lead to our becoming hostage to American initiatives.

[*The speaker continued in Arabic.*]

19. When we look at this situation from the general perspective, we find that the United States, in the person of its President, asked Israel to freeze the establishment of settlements. It asked for a freeze, although the former United States position, often stated by President Carter and Cyrus Vance, who was then Secretary of State, was that the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and elsewhere were illegal. There has been a change in the United States position for which many justifications have been invoked.

20. It has been said that the Israeli settlements are obstacles to peace. But is not every illegal action an obstacle to the peace process? And is not every obstacle to the peace process an illegal and illegitimate act?

21. Therefore, we acknowledge the goodwill of the United States and declare that there is no difference between President Carter's description of the settlements as illegal and President Reagan's comment that those settlements constitute obstacles to peace. In both cases we are mindful of our commitment to international legitimacy; we consider that any impediment to peace is illegal and that whatever is illegal and illegitimate obstructs the peace process.

22. What has happened? Instead of joining with the international community in condemning Israel for establishing these settlements, the United States refused to do so, declaring that a condemnation of Israel or the imposition of sanctions would lead to certain tendencies in Israel that would make it more intransigent and more inclined to defy the international will. The United States concluded by saying that Israel could be convinced to acquiesce in the international will by granting it concessions rather than by punishing it.

23. Thus the exercise of the right of veto by the United States and its threat of use of the veto has prevented condemnation of Israel and the imposition of any deterrent sanctions against it. What is more, because of this attitude, the resolutions of the Council continue to be scorned and its credibility weakened. When the United States differed with Israel on many occasions, especially after the invasion of Lebanon, we believed that those differences could lead to an objective approach in United States policy regarding the Middle East. We also believed that Israel's flagrant defiance of the declared policy of the United States—the full independence and sovereignty of Lebanon and the fact that settlements obstruct the peace process—we believed that these official differences would prompt the United States, in the interest of friendly relations with numerous Arab countries, to lessen its bias in favour of Israel and its at times flagrant bias in favour of Israel's goals in the region.

24. Paradoxically, that difference of opinion was known to Israel, which reacted to it in an exaggerated fashion, claiming that that difference constituted a threat to American-Israeli relations, that Israel was going through the most critical phase of its relations with the United States, and that there was a danger that the United States had started to weaken its traditional and special relations with Israel. Some believed those claims, and many of us wanted to believe that this prospect was true to some extent. Yet, what happened? The United States Congress approved more assistance for Israel, assistance that exceeded the request of the United States Administration itself. We said that the Congress was influenced by factors to which the United States Administration may not be subjected. We hoped that that difference of attitude between the legislative and the executive branches would lead the United States to take into account its relations with the Arab world and its interests in the region.

25. American public opinion started to realize the truth about Israel and its real intentions. We felt this development in numerous sectors of public opinion, to such an extent that one black leader said metaphorically, in describing the suffering of blacks, that sometimes they feel like the people in the West Bank. That may be an exaggeration, but the fact that that reference was made shows that large sectors of American public opinion have started to realize the truth about Israel.

26. We also said that, in its many endeavours in the context of the Middle East, the United States Government paid attention to its friends. But we found that the United States began to reconsider the difference of opinion out of its belief that its past differences with Israel would remain in our memory and that any return to special relations between the United States and Israel would be forgotten by us—that previous differences would be remembered, and the establishment of special relations in the past would be overlooked by the Arabs. How long shall we remain in this dilemma?

27. If we come to the United Nations and the Council, we are told: "You are devaluing the United Nations." When we repeatedly come to the United Nations, we are told such recourse diminishes the prestige of the Council. But if we do not resort to the Council, then to whom or to what shall we resort? Shall we resort to the United States initiative, which was stalled as soon as it was declared? We were told that President Reagan was personally involved and that the United States Government could not prevent the establishment of a single settlement. It did not even hint to Israel that if it continued to establish settlements, it might halt the flow of military assistance to it. If we do not resort to the Council, to international public opinion, if we can expect nothing from American initiatives, to whom or to what shall we resort?

28. We are told that the balance of military power still favours Israel. For how long? Do we want to be forced to resort to a military option while continuing to legitimize diplomatic and political options? The answer lies in the Council and in the collective will to deter Israel from persisting in violating the Council's resolutions and the principles of the Charter.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Kuwait. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

30. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the delegation of Kuwait, I have the pleasure of congratulating you, Sir, on assuming the presidency for this month. We look forward to your wise guidance of the affairs of the Council, for your wisdom and ability are well known. You also represent a friendly country with weight and influence in international politics in general and in the Middle East question in particular.

31. I also wish to express our gratitude for the skilful and just manner in which your predecessor, the repre-

sentative of the People's Republic of China, conducted the affairs of the Council last month.

32. Once again we meet here not to confront a new Israeli policy or a new Israeli position but to face another in the series of abominable crimes that now collectively constitute the backbone of the racist Zionist entity implanted in the Arab territory of Palestine. The crime to which we refer is the act of aggression committed by armed Israelis, in full view of the Israeli Government, against the Islamic University in the town of Al-Khalil on 19 July, which led to the death of 3 students and injury to over 40.

33. The policy of oppression and terror practised by Israel in all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories is, in our opinion, the immediate result of the continued occupation of those territories, as well as of Israel's challenge to international values, convenants and will. The ultimate goal of all those Israeli policies is the realization of so-called Greater Israel.

34. It is shameful to see Israel commit all its aggressive acts under the pretext of what it calls security. We wonder what security this is that knows no limits. What security is this that denies the peace and security of the legitimate owners of those territories and the peace and security of neighbouring countries?

35. Thanks especially to the Council, the whole world is convinced of the falseness of the claims of security which Israel invokes to protect itself and realizes that Israel's ultimate goal is the elimination of the Palestinian people through physical liquidation, the pursuit of that people wherever they may be, the despoiling of their lands and the establishment of Israeli settlements on their lands.

36. Kuwait believes that Israel's policy of establishing settlements represents the corner-stone of an ultimate goal that would make the annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip a *fait accompli.*

37. The Council has unequivocally expressed itself on the illegitimacy of Israel's settlements policy in resolutions 252 (1968) and 465 (1980). Those two resolutions confirm that all Israeli measures aimed at changing the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Al-Quds, have no legal validity and that Israel's settlements policy constitutes a blatant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[2] and a serious obstacle to the achievement of peace in the Middle East.

38. Israel was not merely content with the establishment of settlements and the importation of tens of thousands of the world's Jews to settle in them; it also implanted armed bands among the settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, and there is an understanding and co-ordination between those bands and the Israeli Government. All the Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza carry arms, with the authorization of the Government. If the purpose of carrying arms is self-defence, as claimed by the Israeli Chief of Staff, General Moshe Levi, who refused to disarm the settlers to put an end to the cycle of violence and counter-violence, then this matter raises real doubts about this country armed to the teeth, incapable of protecting its citizens and therefore forced to permit them to carry arms to defend themselves instead of assuming that responsibility itself.

39. The crimes committed by those settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been openly repeated, as evidenced by the criminal attacks on the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh. Anyone who believes that Israel will one day reveal the identity of the perpetrators of those crimes must be a simpleton who cannot conceptualize the true nature of the sick, conspiratorial Israeli mentality. The report by the Israeli Ministry of Justice, known as the report of the Karp Commission, confirmed that the efforts of the police investigating crimes committed by Jewish settlers in the occupied territories are always hampered by two main considerations: first, the ambiguity surrounding the authority of the police with regard to the Jewish settlers in the occupied territories and, secondly, political interference by the Israeli Government itself.

40. Kuwait calls upon the Council to reaffirm its previous resolutions with regard to the illegality of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and to exert new efforts to compel Israel to respect the Council's relevant resolutions.

41. The Palestinians have suffered tremendous horrors under the pressure of the tyrannical Israeli occupation, which history will record as one of their darkest periods. The Palestinian people have struggled and are still struggling to regain their usurped rights.

42. The Palestinian people, which placed their trust in this international Organization, call upon the Council to shoulder the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter of the United Nations and to save them from the barbaric practices to which they are subjected, whether those practices are in the form of attempts to obliterate the identity and character of the Palestinian people or attempts to usurp their land and property and to settle alien racist groups on their land.

43. The Council must compel Israel to respect the international covenants which oblige it to protect the lives of civilians in the occupied territories and not to make any changes in the demographic nature and legal status of the occupied territories.

44. Above all, the Council is required to put an end to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories and to give the oppressed Palestinian people the opportunity to exercise their legitimate and inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, the right to return to their homeland and the right to establish their own State on their own soil under the leadership of the

PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

45. Kuwait believes that the countries which provide Israel with economic and military assistance and moral support, in spite of its colonialist settler policies which have been unanimously and universally condemned, are in fact encouraging this country, an enemy of peace, to persist in its hostility towards peace and in its disdain for all international laws, values and covenants. My delegation calls upon those countries, foremost among them the United States, to cease supporting this country that tramples on human values and, more important, to stop putting obstacles in the Council's way, so that it may carry out its mandate by condemning this lawless country and imposing on it the appropriate sanctions.

46. In calling on the Council to look into the recent developments, the Arab countries have once again demonstrated their belief and trust in the United Nations, particularly in the Council, and their reliance on it to resolve the question of Palestine and to settle the conflict in the Middle East. Any failure by the United Nations to act will have serious effects on its credibility and on the trust of the world's people in it.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

48. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Mr. President, I should like to extend to you our hearty congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am certain that your wisdom and wide experience and the prominent place occupied by your country in the Arab homeland must help the Council to carry out its functions in a manner consistent with the real interests of the international community. Your presidency, Sir, has a special significance. You know our region quite well. It is going through an extremely difficult period in its history because of policies of aggression, hegemony and foreign occupation. The people of France resisted nazism, and we take this opportunity to congratulate them on their resistance when the Nazis occupied their country. The issue before the Council needs your wisdom, your sense of justice and your far-sightedness. You are eminently qualified for your function.

49. I should like, Sir, to express our highest esteem for your predecessor, Mr. Ling Qing, and for his great country and people, which have consistently contributed to world civilization and which take a firm stand of principle on the side of struggling peoples.

50. As others have said, the crimes recently committed against the population of Hebron are not isolated events, but are part and parcel of a deliberate Zionist scheme dating back to 1897. That scheme was protected by colonialism, which even consecrated it and included it in the Mandate over Palestine, thus violating the right to self-determination provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The criminals of today are the successors of those who violated Arab rights and shed Arab blood at the time. It is as though the elimination of the Arab national entity were a legitimate legal basis in the service of the interests of colonialism.

51. The organic relationship and alliance between zionism, on the one hand, and the colonialist States, on the other, before, during and after the First World War were but a means to control the destiny of the Arab nation, to dismember it and to abort its aspirations.

52. Let us speak facts: the Council committed a historic mistake when it rushed into recommending the admission of Israel to the United Nations. Today, we and the majority of the members of the Council are paying the price for that mistake, into which the Council was led by Western colonialism. Since 1948, the Middle East has been a hotbed of danger to international peace and security. There are attempts to destroy our countries, the cradle of world civilization, through the establishment of an expansionist racist entity that goes against the logic of history. We believe that the international régime which we established, and on whose Charter we agreed with good will in order to end war, aggression and colonialism and to enable peoples to exercise their right to self-determination, is threatened with collapse if the Council does not shoulder its responsibilities and carry out its duties. Here I am addressing the members of the Council. We have entrusted you with the sole responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, but time has proved that the Council often falls short of what is expected of it by the peoples, especially the Arab people.

53. The United States was the willing heir of colonialism and has sought to perpetuate, encourage and expand it, and we consider that that country bears primary responsibility for undermining the effectiveness of the Council and preventing it from carrying out its basic duty. By way of example, I would note that this major Power has declared once more, through its President, that the establishment of Israeli settlements on our occupied territories is not illegitimate. President Reagan answered a question posed by Al Bloom, correspondent for the *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, as to whether he thought that the settlements constitute an obstacle to peace by saying, as reported in *The Washington Post* on 20 June: "No, I don't. I really don't."*

54. Is not that United States position in flagrant violation of the commitments entered into by the United States Government under the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law, especially the commitments of the United States under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949?[2] The United States violated that convention in Viet Nam and is now violating it in several other places.

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

55. What is the meaning of the establishment of settlements on Arab territory? The Council must understand the significance of the establishment of those settlements: it means seizing Arab lands and depriving their populations of their livelihood; it means depriving them of drinking water and water for irrigation; it means imposing a régime of poverty, squalour and slavery. All of that is intended to force them to abandon their lands and go into exile.

56. Early in this century, did not Herzl plan what is happening today when he wrote in his journal, in 1904, that the settlers must uproot the indigenous populations and cast them across the desert, except for a minority to be employed in killing poisonous snakes? Herzl's Zionist successors are implementing his colonialist scheme one phase after another. Nowadays we hear fevered Zionist voices, like that of the Minister of the Interior of the Zionist entity, who brazenly stated, as reported in *The New York Times* on 11 July: "We have to understand the right for Jews to live in Hebron for me as a person is above discussion. No Jew can be forbidden to settle in any place in Israel."*

57. *The New York Times*, which is described as "respectable", published an article by the terrorist rabbi, Meir Kahane, thus allowing him to poison the naïve minds of the American public with fascist opinions embodying an outrageous racist dogma and to instigate a continuous war against the Arabs. The last paragraph of that article reads as follows: "For the sake of survival, let us carry out the second stage: the removal of the Arabs from the Land of Israel to their own Arab land."*

58 That is no mere wishful thinking: the terrorist Kahane, who assumes the guise of a man of the cloth and who practices terrorism in Israel and in the United States itself, goes from one American university to another training American students in the use of arms and exhorting them to participate in the crime of settling in Palestine and in the Golan Heights. What Kahane, with his dual Israeli-American citizenship, represents is no isolated phenomenon. Those who murder the children of Al-Khalil and who usurp the land and desecrate the holy places there belong to the same school as Begin, Sharon, Shamir, Arens and Kahane. Those men have carried out brainwashing and have filled minds with hatred, spite and criminal ideas. Not even the minds of women—of mothers—have been saved from this epidemic of Arab-hatred propagated by zionism. *The New York Times*, that "respectable" paper, on 12 July quoted an American-born mother who was settled by force in Al-Khalil and who urged that the Arabs be kicked out of the holy city, saying: "To tell the truth, we want them to leave. And if they stay, they have to accept that this is a Jewish country, not an Arab one. They will have to accept being ruled by us."*

59. As has been stated by Mr. Clovis Maksoud, of the League of Arab States, and by a number of speakers in the Council, official Israeli circles and their mouthpieces in the United States are vigorously striving to absolve the ruling classes in Israel of responsibility for the crimes of the settlers in Jerusalem, Nablus, Al-Khalil, the Golan Heights and elsewhere. Those circles claim that a distinction must be drawn between the bloody settlers and the Israeli Government, headed by Begin, who is suffering from melancholia—or, to put it more simply, from a nervous breakdown.

60. Actually, each settler in Israel is keen on implementing the official settlements policy on which Israel has been based since its beginning as a racist, colonialist, expansionist entity. Each settler, male or female, considers guarding the usurped properties a bounden duty and views the uprooting or murder of an Arab as a constructive step on the road to so-called liberation. Should the representative of Israel so desire, he can speak here and respond, but not laugh. His American colleague once laughed in this chamber and we responded to him and we are ready to respond to him again, because for this to happen under your presidency, Sir, is an affront to all of us. That is what is happening today in the Arab city of Al-Khalil, but neither the Americans nor other eyewitnesses are deceived by this Zionist strategy. As Daniel Gavron wrote from Al-Khalil in *The Wall Street Journal* of 27 July: "And the settlers know they have the support of the Begin government, which is committed to rebuilding the ancient Jewish neighbourhood in the heart of Hebron."* Faced with all this evidence, Washington might perhaps issue the following judgement: "Israel is innocent by reason of insanity."*

61. Israel's designs extend from the Nile to the Euphrates. This is well known and declared; and Israel seeks achievement of its objective especially by fanning anti-Semitism in the United States in the hope of prompting Jews to emigrate to our region and to obtain through blackmail greater financial resources and political advantages so as to expand and support the Zionist settler movement. All of this is accompanied by a psychological campaign to silence any voice raised against the blackmail, be it moral or material. John Oakes, former editor of *The New York Times*, in a rebuke to the Zionist mayor of New York, Mr. Ed Koch, wrote in that newspaper on 21 June:

> "The Mayor, along with a good many other self-anointed spokesmen for the American Jewish community, is pursuing a dangerously divisive course—in effect differentiating the obligations of citizenship of American Jews from those of other Americans—by this kind of McCarthyesque rhetoric."*

62. Zionist settler colonialism in the Syrian Arab Golan Heights increases day by day, but in spite of Israeli oppression and terrorism the inhabitants of the Golan Heights reject Israeli identity and, as I have previously mentioned in the Council, are deprived of their civil rights if they do not acquiesce to Israeli demands. Reports from the region, where foreign journalists are restricted by that "island of democracy" in our midst—a restriction that extends to Israeli journalists—affirm that arrests and

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

police raids are continuing because of fierce resistance to settler schemes and the diversion of water resources through a network of dams to irrigate the Israeli settlements in the Golan Heights. Those settlements now number 35; the occupation authorities plan to settle 20,000 Israelis in the Golan Heights over a period of five years, most of whom may be Americans.

63. In spite of all the acts of oppression by the occupation authorities, including the curfew, which lasts for days on end, our citizens are committed to the national charter that was endorsed in Majdal Shams, in the Golan Heights, on 25 March 1981. The mayor of Majdal Shams stated on 6 January 1983 that: "We have been pressured by the occupation authorities to carry Israeli identity cards, but we carry only hatred for them in our hearts."

64. The Israeli authorities have foreclosed every working opportunity for all those who reject Israeli identity, but the people of the Golan Heights who were forcibly evacuated during the 1967 war are prohibited from returning to their homeland despite the Council's unanimously adopted resolution 237 (1967), which has year after year been reaffirmed in the General Assembly and other international bodies.

65. The Israeli authorities act in the Golan Heights in accordance with the concept of annexation, which the Council has declared null and void in resolution 497 (1981), a resolution which Israel rejected at the same meeting in which it was unanimously adopted. During past sessions of the General Assembly, resolutions were adopted calling upon Israel to revoke its annexation. But Israel, supported by its ally the United States, failed to implement any resolution and instead accelerated the establishment of settlements and intensified its terrorist practices to the point of preventing students from attending Syrian universities or enrolling in universities in the occupied Arab territories if they refused Israeli identity.

66. It is truly regrettable that the Council has failed to take the specific mandatory action provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to force Israel to revoke its annexation of the Golan Heights. This has served to encourage the terrorist leaders of Israel to continue Judaizing the Palestinian and Syrian occupied territories, including Jerusalem, the city of cities. Israel's defiance of the Arab people and the United Nations, especially the Security Council, was expressed by the terrorist Begin on 17 April, on the occasion of the celebration of so-called independence, when he said "our settlements are not an impediment to peace but, rather, as I said, they are a prerequisite for peace".

67. I leave it to the Council to draw its own conclusions concerning the significance of that policy and its aims; it will end by bringing the world to the brink of disaster.

68. Israel's arrogance in realizing its expansionist designs is linked to important factors which we have already mentioned in the Council and which we will repeat today. Foremost among them is Washington's unlimited support for Israel—financial, military and political. American financial support is not confined to the officially declared astounding sum of $2.5 billion per annum; it has exceeded $10 billion per annum, according to information published by the United States Government's General Accounting Office. In spite of the censorship practised in this super-democracy in which we live, in spite of the censorship to conceal the truth, the report from that office shows that there is no other foreign State that has been treated with the same generosity that 3 million Jews living on usurped lands in Palestine and in the Syrian Golan Heights have enjoyed. Israel's per capita share of official and unofficial assistance from the United States has reached $2,900 per annum. That is equivalent to the per capita income in some relatively developed States, or to 12 times the wages of workers in the third world, especially those in underdeveloped countries. According to published information, the United States has undertaken recently to meet in full the expenses of the war waged by Israel against Lebanon, a war which was designed to destroy Lebanon, its people and its infrastructure. An article by Joseph Harsch in *The Christian Science Monitor* of 14 July expresses the bitterness the American taxpayer has come to feel—and I hope there are American taxpayers in our midst—at a time when his rich country is suffering an acute economic crisis accompanied by unprecedented levels of unemployment.

69. Another reason behind Israel's growing arrogance is the sophisticated weapons granted by Washington to its base, Israel. The United States Secretary of Defence, Mr. Weinberger, has described Israel as a land-based carrier that cannot be sunk. He went even further when he explained Israel's role in the service of United States interests in the following words:

> "The United States is bound to Israel by strategic interests. The United States is bound to Israel by a common heritage of freedom and a pioneering spirit."*

70. Yes, it is called "a pioneering spirit". Where is the indigenous population of the United States? What has become of it? It has been slaughtered, murdered and displaced; it is now imprisoned on so-called reservations. Those are the values of "freedom and a pioneering spirit"; and that is what is also happening in Israel, where the Palestinian race is being annihilated by this heritage of "freedom" and this "pioneering spirit".

71. The Secretary of Defence of this super-Power, not confining himself to praising Israel and reassuring American zionism, went so far as to acquiesce to that minority which controls the future and destiny of the American people, when on 13 May he said before the American Jewish Committee:

> "No one should question anyone's strong support of Israel as being 'dual loyalty'. Freedom is not easily divisible, and support for Israel's security is support for our own security."*

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

The United States considers that the road to world security and to its own security is through the security of Israel.

72. Cannot a direct relationship be found between this official United States position and Begin's statement of 3 May? Begin said—and the Council will notice the closeness of the dates on which these two statements were made:

> "The Jewish government will act to strengthen settlements, to expand and consolidate them. . .
>
> "In future negotiations for the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and its neighbours, any proposal for the removal or evacuation of Jewish settlements will be rejected."*

73. And yet, in spite of all that, Begin is suffering from melancholy and nervous depression. Melancholy has become the illness which has afflicted that Israeli official because he does not want to return the occupied Arab territories. The failure to return those territories should lead to melancholy, not vice versa.

74. Do we still wonder about the source of this arrogance by Israel? The rewarding of the aggressor with tools of death and destruction such as F-16 aircraft that are once again pouring into Israel, enabling it through the revived strategic alliance to control the fate of our nation, our wealth and our strategic location: that is the source of its arrogance. As for United States political support of Israel, suffice it to recall that you have seen in the Council how the United States prevented the implementation of unanimously adopted resolutions condemning the establishment of settlements the annexation of Jerusalem and its proclamation as Israel's capital. The Council, also unanimously, in resolution 497 (1981), called on Israel to rescind its annexation of the Golan Heights. The United States has also prevented the implementation of resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanese territory to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.

75. The Syrian Arab Republic would like once again to urge the Council to shoulder its responsibility for implementing its resolutions. International peace and security are truly jeopardized. Owing to United States policy, the Council has become a rostrum for rhetoric. My colleague from Jordan shares that view. The Council has become a rostrum for rhetoric and not a place for effective international action; however, at one time peoples and States placed full confidence in the Council's ability to prevent wars and eliminate aggression.

76. We call upon the United States to enable the Council to take effective steps, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure the unconditional withdrawal of the aggressors from all of the occupied Arab territories and to enable the people of Palestine to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on its national soil, under the leadership of the PLO. Our people, like all the peoples represented in the Council, is struggling to put an end to occupation and aggression by virtue of our natural right to self-defence. Our Arab nation will never relinquish this right, regardless of the passage of time and the sacrifices involved.

77. We hope that the United States will finally understand that the rights of our people cannot be bartered away, that we will never be protectors of United States interests and that attempts at hegemony and domination in certain regions will fail because of the consciousness of our nation and its commitment to its history, heritage, land and values. The manoeuvres of the rapid deployment forces to be conducted soon in our Arab region—manoeuvres in which Israel will, of course, be participating—will not weaken the will of our people. We consider such a flexing of muscles an actual threat directed against us; but it will not intimidate us or discourage us from striving to achieve our national goals, foremost among which is the regaining of our usurped rights. We are confident that the Arab masses and the masses of liberated peoples all over the world stand in one trench against the threat of aggression.

78. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): At the outset, please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are convinced that your wisdom and diplomatic skill are a strong assurance that the Council will successfully discharge its duties this month.

79. The fact that the Council has held numerous meetings to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories amply demonstrates the concern of the international community over the situation in that region. However, in spite of this fact, there have been recurrent incidents of Israeli violation of the inalienable rights of the Arab and Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories.

80. Recently, the Israeli authorities decided, in spite of the strong opposition of the Arab people, to establish a settlement in downtown Al-Khalil. This illegal decision has further aggravated the tension in that region.

81. On 7 July, a large-scale attack on Arab civilians occurred in Al-Khalil. Roughly 90 per cent of the stalls operated by Arabs in that city's market were burnt down by arsonists, and acting Mayor Mustapha Al-Natshe was dismissed by the Israeli authorities without cause.

82. On 26 July, a band of armed Israeli settlers organized a raid on the Islamic University in Al-Khalil and indiscriminately machine-gunned students, faculty and staff members, inflicting heavy casualties. To this day, the Israeli authorities are still sending military and police reinforcements to step up their suppression of the unarmed

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

and defenceless Palestinian and Arab inhabitants. This grave situation is still in the process of unfolding.

83. The representatives of Arab countries and the representative of the PLO have revealed numerous facts which eloquently show that the terrorist tactics used by the Israeli authorities in this instance to persecute the indigenous inhabitants are entirely premeditated with the express aim of changing the demographic composition so as to legitimize the Israeli settlement scheme.

84. One recalls that the Israeli authorities have unapologetically and openly declared their intention to settle 400,000 Israelis in the West Bank in the next five years and 1.4 million in the next 30 years. The Israeli intention to annex the occupied Arab territories in the West Bank is clear as day, and Israel cannot shirk responsibility for this latest tragedy.

85. Israel's wanton crimes of oppression and persecution against the Palestinian Arab people are not only in flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[2] but are also an open defiance of resolutions of the Council.

86. The Council has on numerous occasions adopted resolutions explicitly calling on Israel immediately to cease any action that may change the legal status, physical character and demographic composition of the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to guarantee the welfare and human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories. However, in disregard of those resolutions, the Israeli authorities have created more incidents in annexing occupied Arab territories.

87. Israel's policy of aggression and expansion has further jeopardized peace and security in the region and in the world at large. In the past 30 years, the Palestinian people have endured untold sufferings. Millions of Palestinians have been forced from their homeland and thousands have lost their lives. However, the heroic Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, have carried out an unremitting struggle to realize their sacred aspirations to recover their homeland and establish their own independent State. They have won the sympathy and support of the international community.

88. The Chinese Government has always opposed the crimes and illegal activities carried out by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, has strongly condemned the aggressive and expansionist policy of the Israeli authorities in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights and has resolutely supported the just struggle of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people to recover lost territories and to regain national rights.

89. The Chinese delegation is of the view that the grave and worsening situation in the occupied Arab territories demands a clear and unequivocal response from the Council. The Council should strongly condemn the Israeli authorities for engineering the incidents in Al-Khalil, stop all expansionist activities in the occupied territories and compel Israel to withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 in order to promote a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question.

90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, I take refuge in God from Satan the Accursed.

> "Whom God doth guide,—he is on the right path: whom He rejects from His guidance,—such are the persons who perish.
>
> "Many are the Jinns and men We have made for Hell: they have hearts wherewith they understand not, eyes wherewith they see not, and ears wherewith they hear not. They are like cattle,—nay more misguided: for they are heedless (of warning).
>
> "The most beautiful names belong to God: so call on him by them; but shun such men as use profanity in His names: for what they do, they will soon be requited.
>
> "Of those We have created are people who direct (others) with truth. And dispense justice therewith.
>
> "Those who reject Our Signs, We shall gradually visit with punishment, in ways they perceive not."[3]*

92. As my entire message is based on and developed according to the Holy Koran, it is most appropriate if I address myself from this platform primarily to all Muslims of the world who are represented, or probably misrepresented, in this international body and then to the Security Council, not with respect to what it is but in honour of what it should be.

93. I shall proceed in the light of Koranic wisdom in order to expose the roots of today's problem, the problem of Palestine, a problem that, thanks to zionism and imperialism, is the greatest tragedy of our time. I pray to Allah that these Koranic verses may revive the divine light in the hearts of my once-committed Muslim brothers who have regrettably degraded themselves to pasture in the poisonous green land of secularism. As for the non-Muslim audience, I hope the verses can be taken as a passage through some of the moral and spiritual codes of Islam and their implications in terms of international issues. Let us hope that the passage may also ignite in their hearts a healthy interest in divine faiths in general and in Islam in particular.

* Quoted in Arabic by the speaker.

94. I shall therefore elaborate upon the verses I just cited, and begin with: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, I take refuge in God from Satan the Accursed.

> "Whom God doth guide,—he is on the right path: whom He rejects from His guidance,—such are the persons who perish."

95. Ever since the Muslim people emptied their hearts of the divine light and departed from divine guidance, they have been losing substantially. They forgot their Islamic identity and thus they became tolerant of colonialism and imperialism. They forgot the Koranic guidance that reads, in sura III, verse 103:

> "And hold fast, all together, by the Rope which God (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves; and remember with gratitude God's favour on you; for ye were enemies and He joined your hearts in love, so that by His Grace, ye became brethren; and ye were on the brink of the Pit of Fire, and He saved you from it. Thus doth God make His Signs clear to you: that ye may be guided."

They forgot this guidance and ignorantly accepted the satanic Zionist principle of nationalism all over the Muslim world. They were split up and dispersed into many small units—kingdoms, sheikhdoms and figure-headdoms, each fighting the other over where to draw the line that the mandatory Powers, the satanic Powers, had given them as national boundaries.

96. Some went so far in their secular and nationalistic perversion as blatantly to fight to eradicate all elements of faith in God in favour of proud servility to some grand or petty satanic Powers. They lost Palestine because they neglected their duties that stem from sura II, verse 114:

> "And who is more unjust than he who forbids that in places for the worship of God, God's name should be celebrated?—whose zeal is (in fact) to ruin them? It was not fitting that such should themselves enter them except in fear. For them there is nothing but disgrace in this world, and in the world to come, an exceeding torment."

And the ignominy and the awful doom are that, having forgotten our duties stemming from that verse, the more playfully and irresponsibly we Muslims reacted to the occupation, the more we lost. The Muslim world has been so impregnated by the filth of blasphemy and secularism that we not only lost Palestine and all our natural, economic, human and cultural resources, but even the very sense of feeling the pain of all that great loss. It is in this context that the following verse becomes very relevant and revealing:

> "Many are the Jinns and men We have made for Hell: they have hearts wherewith they understand not, eyes wherewith they see not, and ears wherewith they hear not. They are like cattle,—nay more misguided: for they are heedless (of warning)."

Some remain so blind, deaf and dumb that they are sinking into an ocean of garbage; yet they gluttonously swallow more of it.

97. There was a time when those who have signed a peace treaty with the Zionist enemy prayed only to God, feared no one but God and sought help only from God, as they repeated every day in their prayers: "It is You we worship and it is You we ask for help." In those days, they were supreme. As the blessings of those prayers were forgotten, they began to obey anyone but God, particularly the Great Satan. They surrendered either to American or to Russian materialism. Consequently, they proudly enjoyed the humiliation of the Camp David accords. They lost sensitivity to the painful and expanding dirty boil of zionism that has been implanted in the bottom of their beloved Palestine by the imperialist Powers.

98. King Hussein of Jordan, who is now longing for a peace treaty with the Zionist entity, was once proud of his Hashemite ancestry. The Saudi monarchy, which is now proud of mimicking the criminal Shah of Iran, humbly obedient to the United States and Zionist agents and heretically preventing Muslims from making their pilgrimage, was once proud of pretending to be the gateman of the House of God and serving the pilgrims. And those who are zealously awaiting a tamed, defenceless Palestinian quarter in the West Bank, to be called President Reagan's Palestinian State, were once the noble citizens of the blessed land Barak na Houlahu. They, as well as many Muslim rulers all over the world, have totally forgotten sura XVII, verse 1:

> "Glory to (God) who did take His Servant for a Journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque, whose precincts We did bless,—in order that We might show him some of Our Signs: for He is the One Who heareth and seeth (all things)."

They all have become so alienated—as a matter of fact, we all have become so alienated—and metamorphosed that when a group tired of communism, capitalism and the dirty Shah of westernism intends to retire back to its homeland of Islam, they all attack like cannibal wolves to smother anyone who raises the cry of "Allah-o-Akbar." Why? It is simply because, as sura III, verse 14, says:

> "Fair in the eyes of men is the love of things they covet: women and sons; heaped-up hoards of gold and silver; horses branded (for blood and excellence); and (wealth of) cattle and well-tilled land. Such are the possessions of this world's life; but in nearness to God is the best of the goals (to return to)."

99. Some gunmen at the University in Hebron killed 3 people and injured 33 others. Zionist soldiers opened fire on the demonstrators and killed a woman. The Zionist usurpers are still building more settlements in the West

Bank. The United States, without whose support the Zionist base in the Middle East cannot survive for a moment, is also the close friend of some Arab rulers, who are longing for a peace treaty with the Zionist enemy, but who are fortunately still afraid of their own unarmed people. Of course, the Zionists kill and destroy. They never claim to be guests who are kind to the host. They have always been intruders, aggressors and usurpers who have been killing and destroying from the very beginning.

100. It is under such circumstances that the Council is meeting today. Please tell us: we meet to do what? Who are some of the members of the Council? The meeting of the Council after the massacres of Sabra and Shatila [*2396th meeting*] was very crowded. There was even an emergency special session of the General Assembly. What happened then? Of course, there are others besides my delegation who have the guts to tell the truth, and I am so pleased to see that others are criticizing the Council or looking at it more realistically. It is nice to hear many more voices expressing the impotence of the Council in the implementation of the Charter of the United Nations. But, since its inception, the Council has never promised to be any different or better than it is now. Sad is the fact that a pacifying resolution by the same Council might be taken so seriously by the clients, as we are, as if it were the liberation of the occupied land.

101. It is interesting that sometimes we present detailed accounts of the Zionist crimes emotionally and accurately to the Council, as if permanent members of the Council cannot read the newspapers, or none of them have an embassy in the Zionist base to inform their foreign offices of the crimes perpetrated in Hebron or in Lebanon.

102. I should like again to address myself to my Muslim brothers and to remind them that adversity is not that gunmen in Hebron killed 3 people and injured 33. More painful is the fact that, like polite plaintiffs, we present our humble complaints to the same gunmen, who have formed this international body for their own purposes and who have subsequently maintained their full control over it. Indeed, we who have more faith in the temple of the United Nations than in almighty God deserve this humiliation and much more. Brothers! Is it not that we have totally forgotten sura III, verse 139:

> "So lose not heart, nor fall into despair: for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in Faith."

You have forgotten sura V, verse 57:

> "O ye who believe! Take not for friends and protectors those who take your religion for a mockery or sport—whether among those who received the Scripture before you, or among those who reject Faith; But fear ye God, if ye have Faith (indeed)."

103. It is too sad that Muslim rulers have forgotten the endless power of their own people and the resources that almighty God has given them and have consequently become so humble and low in front of the super-Powers and their international club. Please do not bank on this club too much. It is nothing and nothing comes of nothing.

104. Palestine can be liberated only if the problem of Palestine is understood and tackled in the light of, and on the basis of, divine, just principles. The occupation of Palestine is not the cause of the tragedy; it is the effect of a more fundamental occupation, the occupation of the entire hearts and minds of the Muslims by secular, materialist and mundane values. Unless we purify ourselves of this mundane, modern jahiliya, we are not liberated, and hence we cannot liberate anything. Those who want to help the people of Hebron or who wish to liberate Palestine should well remember the solution.

That solution is as follows, in sura IV, verse 75:

> "And why should ye not fight in the cause of God and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)?—men, women, and children, whose cry is: 'Our Lord! Rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from Thee one who will protect; and raise for us from Thee one who will help.'"

105. *Fi sabi Illah*: that means "for the sake of God": in the way of God, and not for nationalism or any other "ism".

106. Those who play at diplomacy to help the people of Al-Khalil, those who show concern for the cause of Palestine and those who pretend to feel the pain of domination in the claws of zionism and imperialism must remember this, from sura II, verse 194:

> "If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress ye likewise against him. But fear God, and know that God is with those who restrain themselves."

107. To prepare for the Zionist aggressor, we cannot play at diplomacy, brothers, or negotiate for a word or a phrase. We have to mobilize all our resources. The Koranic dictum is this, in sura VIII, verse 60:

> "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of God and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom God doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the Cause of God, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly."

108. Full mobilization means all the assets that are deposited in the Zionist banks; this, of course, includes the large sums the Saudi Arabians, upon the command of the Americans, pay in desperation to your Government, Mr. President, for the deadly weapons that your Government so generously makes available to the Zionist Saddam in order to kill us. However, France is not the only permanent member of the Council that is involved in this practice. As a matter of fact, all of the old guardians of

international peace and security are equally committed to the Charter. But I assure the Council that Saddam and his supporters—and, indeed, the Zionists—are the losers, as the Council shall soon witness.

109. Full mobilization means the entire market of the Muslim world, the entire economy of the Muslim world. It means all the raw materials—so many good things: it means all the oil and its power, and, above all, it means the endless ocean of the Muslim population, plus the oppressed people all over the world—in Africa and in Latin America—who are longing for emancipation.

110. But this full mobilization becomes possible if, and only if, our good Muslim brothers resort to Islam and if they remember that:

> "The most beautiful names belong to God: so call on him by them; but shun such men as use profanity in His Names: for what they do, they will soon be requited."

And if they neglect the remembrance of divine names, then the following will be the consequence for them:

> "Of those We have created are people who direct (others) with truth. And dispense justice therewith.
>
> "Those who reject Our Signs, We shall gradually visit with punishment, in ways they perceive not."

That is exactly where some Muslims are going now: "in ways they perceive not".

111. Instead of preparing for Muslims actually to move to Palestine, rulers of the Islamic countries come to the President of the Council and to the Council itself: to that agent which actually forged a birth certificate for the illegitimate child left behind by the international conspiratorial engagement of global zionism and imperialism 35 years ago. It is too sad that our Muslim brothers are deliberately confusing a part of the problem for a part of the solution.

112. Shortcomings and malfunctionings of the Council in this context are irrelevant. I mean that even if the Council were functioning efficiently, it would still not be even the least appropriate clinic for treating the malady of Palestine.

113. The Muslim people of Iran shall not spare any effort or sacrifice to liberate the holy land of Palestine. The herds of criminal Zionists who have gathered together around some conscientious members of the Council shall be respectfully escorted back to their stables in the United States and Europe where they came from.

114. Palestine shall be completely cleansed of the Zionists and their American and Western supporters, who have wishfully but wrongly speculated on them, hoping to plunder the rest of the Muslim world. That is impossible.

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

116. Mr. CABALLERO RODRIGUEZ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We wish you success in carrying out this important responsibility.

117. We wish also to convey our congratulations to the representative of the People's Republic of China on the manner in which he guided the Council during the month of July.

118. When reviewing the records of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other bodies of the United Nations system, one frequently encounters the complaints and criticisms by the representatives of Israel and its United States ally regarding what they consider a useless exercise and a waste of resources owing to the excessive attention given by this forum to the problems of the Middle East and, in particular, to the question of Palestine. It is only logical that both countries should be concerned over the fact that the international community is considering this question. It is only logical that they are bothered by the fact that international public opinion should hear the crimes being committed by the Israeli governing clique against the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples. It is logical also that Tel Aviv and Washington should become angry over the fact that their complicity and joint responsibility for the deteriorating situation in the Middle East have been exposed in this forum. Both the Israeli leaders and their strategic allies would very much prefer that the international community played along with their sophisticated campaign of disinformation aimed at presenting the victims as the victimizers and vice versa, thereby facilitating the implementation of their expansionist and neo-colonialist plans against the Palestinian people and, in general, against all Arab peoples.

119. But times have changed. Each day it becomes increasingly difficult to hide the truth from world public opinion, and, gradually, the cause of the Palestinian people, the cause of the Arab peoples, has become the cause of mankind.

120. With every passing day there is increasing worldwide condemnation of the insane policy of the nazi-fascist clique in Tel Aviv and increasing demand for a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

121. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which now encompasses 101 countries, has played an important role in this. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, the Heads of State or Government reiterated their conviction that there could not be any just and lasting peace in the Middle East without Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including

Jerusalem, and without a just solution to the question of Palestine on the basis of the recovery and exercise in Palestine of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular the right to return, the right to self-determination without external interference and the right to independence and national sovereignty, including the right to establish an independent Palestinian State in their homeland, Palestine. The heads of State also reaffirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that it alone has the full right to participate independently and on an equal footing in all international conferences, activities and events and they rejected all plans, arrangements and agreements that were not in keeping with these principles [*see S/15675 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, Political Declaration*].

122. These principles, as well as innumerable resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, have daily been violated by the Israeli leaders in their efforts to obstruct any peace initiative not in keeping with their expansionist and aggressive policies and their plans aimed at destroying the resistance of the Palestinian people, and the people themselves, and at subjecting the other Arab peoples.

123. This explains the well-known policy of *faits accomplis* that has been pursued by the Zionists since well before the creation of the State of Israel and all its criminal actions over the past few years, such as the intensification of the settlements policy in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, the annexation of the city of Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, the genocidal acts against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the constant threats against Syria and other Arab countries and the resurgence of repression of all kinds against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, such as the terrorist actions which only recently have added to the long list of innocent Palestinian victims of the Israeli forces, which have tried in vain to drown in blood the Palestinian people's legitimate struggle against their oppressor. On this policy of the Israeli Government, the President of Cuba, Fidel Castro, in his statement on the occasion of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, stated:

> "We were all shocked and horrified by the satanic spectacle of the guerrilla invasion of southern Lebanon and the treacherous aggression against Syria, the genocidal attack on Beirut and the cruel killings in Sabra and Shatila. The heroic conduct and indomitable courage of the Palestinian combatants and the Lebanese patriots won the admiration of the entire world. Never has the Palestinian cause seemed more just than now, when it stands in stark contrast to the wanton brutality of its adversaries. The world will not forget the heroism of those against whom aggression is committed or the barbarity of the aggressors.
>
> "It is tragic that the Jewish people, who aroused compassion and universal sympathy when Hitler threatened their extermination, have been induced by zionism to take part in this insane genocide. Yet even in Israel there has arisen a clamour for peace and a demand for the punishment of those responsible for these killings.
>
> "But these crimes would not have been possible if the notorious centre of world imperialism had not provided the Israeli aggressors with the weapons. The despicable adventurism of Begin and Sharon exists only because of an unconscionable and openly confessed strategic alliance between Israel and the United States."

124. Those words, uttered by President Fidel Castro last March, are particularly relevant today. After the aggression and the genocidal action in Lebanon, Israel has intensified its repressive policies in the occupied territories and openly declares that it will increase the number of Israeli settlements, a policy that has recently gained even greater dimension, since Israel plans to create Jewish settlements in densely populated Palestinian centres, which will mean the further destruction of Palestinian homes and neighbourhoods, more expulsions, more bloodshed, more *faits accomplis*.

125. How can one explain that Israel is able with impunity to continue this policy of disregard for the various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, in open defiance of the will of the entire international community? All this can be explained, as has already been stated by so many previous speakers in the debate, by what we daily read in the press and by the declarations of the spokesmen for the Tel Aviv régime and for the United States Administration regarding the growing political, diplomatic, economic and military support that Israel has been receiving from its strategic ally, the United States. This strategic alliance also explains the arrogance of the Israeli imperialists in other parts of the world, such as Central America, where we find the long Zionist tentacles supplying military assistance to the former guards of Somoza, who, with the open support of the Reagan Administration, are vainly trying to stem the course of history and drown in blood the victorious revolution of the heroic sons of Sandino.

126. Today the Council is meeting to consider the latest criminal actions of the Israeli occupying forces, particularly in the city of Hebron. If the insane policies of the Tel Aviv régime are not stopped, how many more crimes will we have to consider in the Security Council and the General Assembly? That is why the time has come for the Council fully to exercise the responsibilities conferred on it by the Charter of the United Nations and take appropriate action to put a timely end to the misdeeds of the Israeli occupying forces and promote a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict, especially its root cause, the problem of Palestine.

127. Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to take this opportunity to express to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation and my Government and on my own behalf, sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. I became personally acquainted with you during my stay in your great country, France, and I am aware of your outstanding ability. That ability, together with your skill and wisdom, as well as your country's policies of principle in

upholding right and justice, makes us happy to see you presiding over the Council and discharging this lofty responsibility.

128. I wish also to express my thanks and that of my Government to Mr Ling Qing, the representative of China—and to his country—for the tact, flexibility and competence with which he guided the Council's proceedings last month. We were able to appreciate his well-known skills and diplomacy when the Council was seized of the situation in the occupied Arab territories in informal consultations and formal meetings.

129. Most unfortunately, I must point out the fact that the representative of Iran used this forum in a way that was contrary to its purposes. I do not object to the religious lesson he presented to the Council—although I am not convinced that this is the right place for it—nor do I wish to discuss his attacks on Arab nationalism, but I believe that this is also not the place to give vent to any misgivings about that.

130. Similarly, I do not object to what he said about Jordan and its foreign policy, although I consider that to be fishing in troubled waters and some sort of opportunism.

131. However, I vehemently reject what he said about the Hashemite family, for which all Muslims and Arabs have the greatest respect and love because of its religious position in our region and the services that it continues to render, with prudence and wisdom, to the Arab cause.

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

133. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): Sir, the Bangladesh delegation is pleased to see France presiding over the Council. The very friendly and cordial relations existing between our two countries are a source of great satisfaction to us. The deep and sincere feelings with which France advocates the cause of international peace and the just struggles of oppressed peoples is well known. We have no doubt that, with your outstanding diplomatic skill, the deliberations of the Council will lead to positive results.

134. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey our deep appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Ling Qing, the representative of the People's Republic of China, for his outstanding leadership in guiding the work of the Council during the month of July. We have all noted the skill, ability and energy with which he conducted the Council's work.

135. The Council is again seized of a crisis arising out of Israeli aggression and barbarity in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. The recent criminal and shameful attacks carried out by a band of armed Israeli settlers, under the guidance of Israeli occupation authorities, against Arab civilians in the Israeli-occupied Arab city of Al-Khalil are not isolated incidents of repression but constitute yet another link in the long chain of Israel's policy of relentless expansion, its unabated aggression against its Arab neighbours and its ruthless design to liquidate the Palestinian nation. The speakers who preceded me, particularly the representatives of Jordan and the PLO, have already given a detailed account of the treacherous and disgraceful attacks which took place in the Israeli-occupied Arab city of Al-Khalil on 7 and 26 July.

136. The international press and news media coverage, particularly the reports published recently in *The New York Times* and *The Christian Science Monitor*, have also given a graphic description of the shootings and killings which took place in Al-Khalil. It is also evident from that press coverage that the Israeli policy of annexation has been challenged by the determined opposition of the Palestinian people and that the continuing brutal oppression and indiscriminate killing in the occupied territories have only intensified their determination to resist such acts of oppression and State terrorism.

137. The United Nations, through the Security Council and the General Assembly, has tried repeatedly to bring justice to the suffering Palestinian people. But one of its Members, Israel, has deliberately and arrogantly rejected one United Nations resolution after another and openly flouted the voice of this world body. After making its moves to change the status of Holy Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, which were condemned unequivocally by the international community, Israel, in pursuit of its drive to liquidate the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, invaded Lebanon last summer. In open violation of all international law and the decision of the United Nations, Israel has continued to occupy a major part of that country. In the face of determined opposition by the heroic Palestinian people, Israel has once again unleashed a reign of terror in the occupied territories.

138. Despite the brutal repression, the heroic Palestinian youth have demonstrated that they cannot and will not be subjugated by violence. It is also evident that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people cannot be denied them and that their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, cannot be silenced.

139. Bangladesh's stand on the question of Palestine and the Middle East is firm and unequivocal; it is not based on political expedience. Our consistent position stems from our firm belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is founded on our enduring commitment to the cause of oppressed peoples all over the world struggling to free themselves from the bondage of colonialism, aggression and exploitation—peoples engaged in establishing their inalienable right to self-determination, national freedom and political independence. It is rooted in the ideals of tolerance and the conviction that men and women of all religions and all races can live together in an environment of peace, justice and equality. It is geared to uphold the right of every

people freely to determine and to build its own social, economic and political system by ways and means of its own free choice.

140. To this end, Bangladesh has consistently maintained that the situation in the Middle East, particularly the question of Palestine, can be solved only by the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab and Palestine territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and by restoring the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to an independent State of its own in Palestine. Further, it is also essential that the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, participate in any peace process on an equal footing. Any plan or solution that ignores these basic requirements cannot attain a just and durable peace.

141. The very recent barbarous attack on Palestinians is not just another instance of such outrageous actions for which Israel is notorious; it further confirms the real intention of the Israeli authorities of which the Council has been warned time and again. There can be no shadow of doubt that the primary intention is to terrorize the people of Palestine so that they vacate their homeland, which Israel appears determined to annex.

142. This is indeed a matter of the utmost gravity and concern which, if permitted to go unchallenged, will have serious international repercussions and set a most dangerous precedent for other expansionist Powers to follow. As such, it is imperative for the Council to proceed urgently, with all the authority and resources at its disposal, to implement its own resolutions and decisions. Israel must be made to realize that it cannot get away anymore with violations of the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of the Council.

143. Recent developments in the occupied territories have demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that the lack of firm and expeditious action on the part of the Council only contributes to an aggravation of the situation. A particularly heavy responsibility therefore falls on the permanent members of the Council to enable it to carry out its primary responsibility to bring peace to the afflicted region.

144. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate my delegation's readiness fully to uphold the adoption of any concrete and effective measures by the Council, in accordance with the Charter, for bringing an end to Israeli aggression and occupation and for the promotion of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

[2] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

[3] *The Holy Koran*, VII:178-182

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SECURITY COUNCIL
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THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2460th MEETING: 2 AUGUST 1983

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2460th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 2 August 1983, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2460)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
   Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
   Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
   Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a. i. of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599);
   Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Qatar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15764);
   Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890).

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a. i. of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599);
Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Qatar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15764);
Letter dated 27 July 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15890)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken at earlier meetings on this question [*2401st, 2412th to 2414th, 2438th, 2457th and 2459th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Cuba, Djibouti, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, India, Iraq, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Al-Sabbagh (Bahrain), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Caballero Rodríguez (Cuba), Mr. Houfane (Djibouti), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Mohammad (Iraq), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Ould Hamody (Mauritania), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Ali (Oman), Mr. Al-Boainin (Qatar), Mr. Zowawi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. Madar (Somalia), Mr. Elfaki (Sudan), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Lessir (Tunisia), Mr. Gökçe (Turkey), Mr. Al-Qasimi (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have

received a letter from the representative of Israel in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Blum (Israel) took a place at the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. ZOWAWI (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the members of the Council for having afforded me the opportunity to participate in the debate on the item now under discussion. I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and express our full confidence that you will guide the Council's proceedings on this subject in which we are keenly interested with your well-known competence and integrity.

5. At a time when we are looking forward to the just and effective fulfilment of the Council's tasks under your presidency, we want to express our appreciation for the competence with which the work of the Council was accomplished under your predecessor during the month of July.

6. One may well wonder what inspires the policies of the Israeli entity—this entity that was created by Zionist organizations on the territory of Arab Palestine. Indeed, in all the annals of history there is nothing to compare with what is taking place in the occupied Arab territories, even during the worst of the defunct repugnant colonial era. At a time when the colonialist countries had already embarked on the liquidation of their colonies in occupied countries following the Second World War and the United Nations was established, the racist Zionist movement managed to usurp the homeland of another people, displacing it and setting up a foreign State on its ruins. Not content with its pre-1967 achievements, the Israeli entity has since pursued a process of planned expansion and the oppression of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories for one single undisputed purpose: to obliterate what remains of the Palestinian people, expropriate their homeland, displace the inhabitants and Judaize the Arab territories and resources in such a way that these innocent people have had no option but to abandon hearth and home and join the 2 million refugees who have been living for scores of years in a state of displacement and misery outside their homeland, in camps and neighbourhoods that, even in the Diaspora, have not been spared the ravages of Israeli campaigns of destruction and extermination.

7. As for the occupied Arab territories, the Israeli régime is carrying out a devilish design to usurp them from their Arab owners and build settlements for the Jews with a view to the *de facto* annexation of those territories to Israel, in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant resolutions of the Organization, especially Council resolution 242 (1967), and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949,[1] and all other relevant international laws and norms. It has resorted to lying, cheating and the falsification of facts. That has been the hallmark of the Zionist movement since its inception. Israel resorts to lame excuses and flimsy pretexts for all its measures, but has yet to convince the international community.

8. The international community is shaken daily by fresh criminal acts of aggression against the Arab population of the occupied territories and the neighbouring Arab countries. The latest incidents took place in the Arab city of Al-Khalil where the Jews opened fire and hurled grenades at the Islamic University of Al-Khalil during classes, killing 3 students and injuring more than 36. During that attack, the Jewish aggressors wore masks, not for fear of punishment by the Israeli authorities, but to enable the Israeli authorities, who did not want to reveal who were the perpetrators of those terrorist acts of aggression, to cast doubt on the identity of the perpetrators and raise the possibility that the aggression was carried out by the Arabs themselves. The Israeli authorities are oblivious to the fact that the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories are totally defenceless. There is not a single incident in which the Arab population has used weapons against the occupation authorities. The only weapons available in Al-Khalil and the entire West Bank are those provided by the Israeli authorities to the Jewish settlers in order to terrorize the Arab population, whose land and natural resources have been usurped in broad daylight and in full view of everyone. The Israeli authorities do not want to admit that the only Arab weapons are the stones that have sometimes been used by students as a result of the campaign of oppression and terrorism and the arbitrary measures imposed by the occupation authorities and the Jewish settlers. The Israeli authorities also forget that Al-Khalil and most of the towns of Gaza and the West Bank are under constant curfew. This curfew is imposed only on defenceless Arab towns and villages and never on the armed Jewish settlements. Thus the Jewish settlers can rampage through Arab areas, setting fires, engaging in acts of sabotage and committing murder, as had happened earlier in the vegetable market and the central station in Al-Khalil.

9. It is abundantly clear that the murderers who took part in the incidents at the Al-Khalil University are fanatic Jews who were armed and encouraged by the Israeli authorities. Did we not see the settlers occupy part of Al-Haram Al-Ibrahami Al-Sharif in 1968, with the support of those authorities? And did not the Jews establish certain settlements and Jewish neighbourhoods inside and outside Al-Khalil and confiscate Arab lands? Israel claims that the arms it supplies to the Jews in the occupied Arab territories are for self-defence and not aggression—oblivious to the fact that the presence of those settlers in the occupied territories *per se* constitutes an act of aggres-

sion the victims of which are the Arabs. Self-defence is a right of the victim, not of the aggressor. The Israeli logic is curious. It shows a split personality in Israel and in zionism. It is noteworthy in this respect that a limited number of Israelis have started to take independent positions, expressing freely certain points of view; among them are Mrs. Yehudit Karp, who resigned her chairmanship of the Commission to investigate the practices of Jewish settlers because she was convinced that the Israeli authorities encouraged the settlers to commit terrorist acts. But the existence of such a Commission is no source of security because the governing machinery continues to breed a feeling of enmity and hostility, as well as the idea of expansion and displacement advocated by Meir Kahane in order to promote a Greater Israel free of goyin—non-Jews.

10. We call on the international community once more not to permit the Israeli authorities to disregard United Nations resolutions that express the will of the international community. It is not in the interest of the United Nations or of States, especially the big Powers, to apply different yardsticks to international conduct. It is not at all admissible to consider certain resistance movements as legitimate governments when they wage "wars of liberation" and at the same time to consider the Palestinians who are struggling against the arbitrary aggression of Israel as "terrorists". This discrimination in international criteria will undermine the international Organization and produce excesses that may also lead to a world war.

11. As for the latest events in Al-Khalil, we urge the Council to condemn the Israeli acts in such an explicit way as to leave no doubt about them and to declare null and void all settlement measures taken by Israel. There should be a statement to the effect that the Council would be forced to take the necessary appropriate measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to implement its resolutions. We hasten to say that what has happened in the occupied Arab territories would not have taken place had the Council assumed its responsibilities under the Charter. We have urged that repeatedly in order to safeguard the Charter and for the sake of international peace and security.

12. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

13. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): Mr. President, I should like to thank you, and through you the members of the Council, for having kindly invited my delegation to participate in the discussions on the situation in the occupied Arab territories. Allow me also to extend to you, Sir, our felicitations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are certain that your outstanding qualities, both personal and professional, will guide the deliberations of the Council. We wish you every success in the fulfilment of your duties.

14. May I also pay a tribute to your predecessor for the manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of July.

15. The Council is once again seized of a situation that has been a burden on the conscience of the international community for many years now. In the larger context of an expansionist policy, the Zionist Government of Israel has on a systematic basis resorted to the most inhuman and barbaric means in order to implement its designs aimed at altering the demographic composition of the Palestinian and other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, thus paving the way for their final annexation.

16. Two main practices have been instrumental in carrying out the ambitious plans of the Zionist entity. The first is to settle as many Jewish families as possible in the newly established settlements and in the Palestinian town and villages, and the second is to evacuate as many members of the Palestinian and Arab indigenous population as possible from those territories, forcing them to seek refuge in the neighbouring Arab countries.

17. According to the norms and principles of international law, and in particular the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] any attempt by the occupying Power to alter the physical character, demographic composition and institutional structure of territories under its occupation are strictly prohibited, and situations resulting from these attempts are considered illegal and void of any validity.

18. When considering the same issue in 1968, the Council, by its resolution 252 (1968), proclaimed illegal the settlement policy of the Government of Israel. This pronouncement was more recently confirmed in resolution 465 (1980) of the Council.

19. The Zionist régime, fully assured of the support of all kinds it receives from its Western friends, and particularly from its patron, the United States, has so far not only failed to pay the slightest attention to the repeated calls of the international community but has even in recent years intensified implementation of its heinous schemes for a Greater Israel. An ever-increasing number of incidents have brought shock and horror to peace- and justice-loving humanity. That is why we do not consider the recent escalation of terror and violence against the Palestinian Arab population of Al-Khalil as an isolated event. It is but a ring in the chain of the terrorization of the civilian population of the occupied territories to the extent of forcing them to abandon their land and property and to seek shelter in neighbouring Arab countries.

20. The military occupation authorities and the Zionist settlers armed by them have not fallen short of the use of any and all horrendous measures that could facilitate attainment of their goals. Consequently, the populations and the locally elected authorities of the occupied Palestinian Arab territories have been subjected to constant acts of harassment, repression and intimidation. These acts have recognized no boundaries, moral or otherwise. Private houses and other properties, local markets, public facilities and, in particular, schools and universities have served as permanent targets of military and settler vigilante attacks. Even highly sacred Muslim places such as

mosques and shrines have not been exempted from these acts of vandalism and terror.

21. During all of last month there were repeated manifestations of these acts in the city of Al-Khalil and some other towns in the occupied Palestinian territories. Houses were attacked, Palestinian-owned buses, cars and shops were set ablaze, electricity and power supplies were cut off, the sanctity of mosques was violated and the University of Hebron was a target of grenade and gas-bomb attacks, and students and teachers were shot at. Similar incidents occurred in Nablus and Bir Zeit. During the shootings at Al-Khalil University of students and professors, 3 Palestinian Arabs died and more than 30 were wounded. The military Government of the occupying Power stood by and did virtually nothing to prevent the armed settler vigilantes engaging in these cynical attacks.

22. The Zionist authorities have implied that the recent spiral of violence against the Palestinians was justified because of an attack on a Jewish settler. Reports from different sources have indicated that the wounded settler, who was attacked by unidentified persons, was not attended by the Israeli military, which thought he was an Arab. It is established that had the wounded person been promptly taken to the hospital, he would have been saved.

23. Whatever the pretext for the Zionist elements, the main cause of violence and bloodshed is the stubborn denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian and Arab peoples and occupation of their land by Israel. It is evident that more and more blood will be shed and people will die unless a comprehensive, just and lasting peace is achieved in the Middle East that would ensure total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and ensure effective exercise by the Palestinian people of their national rights, including the right to establish their national State in Palestine under the leadership of the PLO.

24. The international community has produced several versions of such a settlement, notably the six-point Soviet proposal [*see S/15403, annex*], the Fez plan [*see S/15510, annex*] and numerous resolutions of the General Assembly. Thanks to the flexibility of the PLO, the chances for achieving a settlement would have been tangible had they not been torpedoed by the intransigence of Israel and its overseas supporters.

25. In violation of the relevant resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly, Israel has continued with its policy of settlements in the occupied territories. During the past two months alone, three new settlements have been established and more than 30,000 dunums of land belonging to the Palestinian Arabs have been confiscated.

26. Unless the Council adopts effective measures to force Israel to cease forthwith its illegal activities, there will be an increasing danger of outbursts of violence and armed clashes. The Council should, in our view, explore ways and means, including the adoption of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure implementation of its resolutions. It should be noted that the main obstacle to implementation by the Council of its previous decisions and relations is the abuse of the veto power by the United States. This position of the United States has totally paralysed the Council and prevented it from taking effective action; therefore, the United States bears full responsibility for the continuation of the tragic situation in the occupied territories.

27. The people of the world, and first and foremost the people of Palestine and other occupied territories, have placed their confidence and hope in the Council and expect it to assume its responsibilities under the Charter. Peace, justice and tranquillity cannot be restored to the region unless an end is put to the aggression, occupation and expansionism perpetrated by the Zionist régime.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

29. Mr. GÖÇE (Turkey): At the outset, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the current month. Your outstanding skills and abilities are well known to us all, and we are confident that the deliberations of the Council will once again benefit greatly from your wisdom and experience.

30. I should also like to express our deep appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of China, for the skill he displayed in guiding the Council during the month of July.

31. The Council is addressing itself once again to the tragic situation in occupied Arab territories created by the persistence of Israel in pursuing policies of annexation, illegal settlements and endless and increasingly brutal repression.

32. We have learned with trepidation of the shocking occurrences in the city of Al-Khalil, which are yet another manifestation of the fact that Israel is adamant in the pursuit and execution of policies of repression in the Arab territories under its occupation, thus further aggravating the plight of the Arab Palestinian people and the gravity of the situation in the Middle East. The ever-increasing number of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories which have been expropriated and taken over by the Israeli authorities is particularly alarming. Arab Palestinians are systematically being deprived of their land and means of livelihood. The Israeli aim appears to be the liquidation of the Palestinian cause and of the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation.

33. It is perhaps not necessary here to elaborate further on Israel's record in the occupied territories, which is well known to us all. I should like to reiterate that Turkey, as a country which has always taken a resolute stand against the illegal policies of Israel in the occupied Arab territories, is convinced that to be just, lasting and comprehensive the solution to the question of Palestine must, as a

minimum, entail the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and allow the full exercise of the inalienable rights and legitimate aspirations of the Arab Palestinian people, including the right to establish its own independent State. Without Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab Palestinian territories and the return of the Palestinians to their homeland there can be no solution to the Palestinian problem. Turkey also firmly believes that it is the duty of the international community to remind Israel of its responsibilities under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] in the territories under its occupation. Similarly, it is incumbent on the Council to take appropriate measures to prevent Israel from further violating the rules and norms of international law and the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

34. It is most deplorable that Israel is resolute in pursuing policies of annexation, of creating illegal settlements and of repression. The Government of Turkey calls on Israel once again to put an end to this policy. Failure to do so will result in further aggravating the situation in the occupied territories and render the realization of a lasting peace and security in the region unfeasible. In this context, Turkey offers its full co-operation to the Council in its efforts aimed at finding a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the question of Palestine.

35. Mr. KRYSTOSIK (Poland): At the very outset, Sir, permit me to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are confident that your experience and abilities will contribute to the efficiency and fruitfulness of our deliberations and that the Council will succeed in discharging its important duties.

36. At the same time, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Ling Qing, of the People's Republic of China, for his diplomatic skill and dedication and for the exemplary manner in which he guided our proceedings in the month of July.

37. May I also take this opportunity to join in welcoming to the Council the new representative of the Netherlands, Mr. van der Stoel, and to wish him success in his work.

38. For many years, the situation in the occupied Arab territories has been on the agenda of the Council. For a long time now, the international community has been witnessing a constant deterioration in the situation there as a result of the policy of the Israeli occupation authorities. The world has been seeing the enormous sufferings of the Palestinian people. It has been watching the steps taken by the aggressor in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, of resolutions adopted by the Council and the General Assembly, of the provisions of international law and of world public opinion.

39. Poland's position concerning the Israeli policies of aggression and creeping annexation has been presented many times, both in this chamber and from the rostrum of the General Assembly. We have also set forth our views at meetings of those United Nations committees that deal with issues related to Israeli activities and their most serious consequences and implications. We have more than once spoken strongly for the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State. We have more than once emphasized that the total, unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem, is one of the prerequisites for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We have more than once pointed out that the Israeli policy of aggression, territorial expansion, annexation and illegal settlements, pursued in flagrant violation of international law, can only add to the increase of tension in the powder-keg situation in the Middle East, which threatens a new conflagration at any moment.

40. It goes without saying that this policy poses a serious threat to peace and security not only in the region, but also in the world at large, for the consequences for the tensions in the Middle East are on a much broader scale than the regional scale. The entire world awaits a peaceful settlement there.

41. Yet, as is known, for years the policy of the Israeli authorities has made it impossible to find a just and lasting solution to the crisis. It is also known that Israel alone could not afford to play the role of the spearhead of aggression. In its actions, however, it can fully rely on those forces which, in the escalation of tension in the Middle East, see the possibility of attaining their objectives. Israel knows that its war machine enjoys the unrestricted and unquestioning support and assistance of its strategic ally, the United States, which looks earnestly towards a military buildup in the region and towards tensions and aggression that serve its objectives. Advertising piecemeal approaches and separatist agreements, its foreign policy actively enhances its strategic goals.

42. Our firm point of view on the situation in the Middle East is well known. There is no need to repeat it at length once again. It is in the records of the Council, as well as in the documents of other bodies of the United Nations.

43. However, my delegation cannot but strongly stress anew that the present resumed consideration by the Council of the situation in the occupied territories takes place under extremely grave circumstances. The previous cases of repression and the use of force and terror which were considered not so long ago are still fresh in our memory. The smoke from the previous shootings has barely cleared when yet another act of violence against the Palestinian Arabs has been committed.

44. The constant recurrence of acts of brutal terror and violence, such as the recent ones in the city of Hebron, should be a grim and tragic reminder that the Council should fulfil its responsibility concerning the Arab and Palestinian population in the West Bank and other occupied territories. The Council should take effective and urgent action. It should very forcefully declare the illegal-

ity and inadmissibility of Israeli settlements, which have become a deadly weapon in the policy of annexation pursued by the Israeli authorities.

45. One need not argue that the expanded construction of new Israeli settlements, the expropriation of Arab property to carry out these projects and the application of such methods as the demolition and sealing of dwellings and commercial premises constitute the integral parts of a policy directed at changing the legal, physical and demographic status of the occupied Arab territories. Proof of Israeli expansionism can be seen in its unilateral annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem, a deliberate colonization effort leading to a gradual economic and administrative integration of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with Israel, and by the extension of the Israeli juridicial and administrative system over the Golan Heights, as well as by the dubious practices in the southern parts of Lebanon. These practices, accompanied by various forms of repression and terror, permit us to nurture no illusions as to the true intentions of the occupation authorities.

46. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, the provisions foreseen in the draft resolution [*S/15895*] constitute the least that the Council can do to live up to the requirements of the grave situation in the territories under Israeli occupation and to meet the expectations of the international community—that an end be put to the process of deterioration of this situation before the policy of *faits accomplis* in annexation of Arab territories achieves its sinister long-range objectives.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Qatar. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

48. Mr. AL-BOAININ (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure at the beginning of my statement, Sir, to express sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency for the month August. I am confident that, with your experience and ability and under your guidance, the Council's proceedings will succeed.

49. I also wish, Sir, to take this opportunity to express appreciation of the competence that your predecessor, the representative of China, displayed in directing the work of the Council in July.

50. The convening of the Council in the wake of the bloody events that befell the occupied Arab city of Al-Khalil is in itself a significant indication that the situation in the occupied Arab territories has deteriorated in such a way as to jeopardize international peace and security.

51. However, this is not the first meeting of the Council to be held in response to the will of the international community, which, in the face of the unceasing and increasingly audacious crimes of Israel, cannot but try time and time again, within the framework of its competence provided for by the Charter of the United Nations, to adopt measures that will put an end to Israel's persistent arrogance and its flouting of the purposes of the Charter, the principles of international law, the resolutions of the United Nations and all moral norms and rules. This meeting is but a link in a chain of meetings of the Council that Israel has done everything possible to thwart.

52. As a result of the absolute political support given to it by a super-Power, a permanent member of the Council, Israel continues to tighten its grip over the population of the occupied West Bank. That support also frustrates the will of the absolute majority of the States Members of the United Nations as embodied in innumerable resolutions in support of Arab rights, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Those resolutions condemn the Israeli occupation and consider as null and void all the measures taken by Israel to annex the Golan Heights and Arab Jerusalem and to build Jewish settlements.

53. As all the members of the Council know, however, Israel's ambitions are focused on Arab territories emptied of their indigenous inhabitants. The Palestinians have refused to submit to repressive and oppressive measures, to the confiscation of lands and to the limitation of their freedoms; that is, they have refused to accept the artificial reality of gradual Judaization, which the occupation authorities are attempting to impose on them. Therefore, the leaders of Israel have been possessed by an insane, blood-thirsty determination, unprecedented in modern history since the fall of nazism, physically to liquidate the Palestinian people.

54. We do not think that this obvious conclusion is an excessive one. What other explanation is there of this ferocious campaign being carried out by armed Jewish settlers against defenceless Palestinians in the West Bank? What other explanation is there of the spoliation of schools and universities, of indiscriminate killing, of desecration of the holy places and houses of prayer in the Holy City of Al-Quds and other Arab cities, of the confiscation of lands, of the demolition of houses, and of the dismissal of mayors and elected members of municipal councils—or, if deportation does not work, of their murder? That is only part of the list of Israel's barbaric Israeli crimes, with which United Nations documents are replete.

55. Worse still, the determination of the Israelis to liquidate the Palestinians at any price has led to various barbaric campaigns aimed at harming the population of the West Bank and Gaza, through both military and political manoeuvres. To achieve its designs, Israel did not hesitate to ravage Lebanon and to occupy its land, as it is still doing. Its leaders did not deny that their main purpose was to eliminate the Palestinians. The proof of that—if proof were needed—is the ferocious bombardment of Beirut and the carnage at Sabra and Shatila and the continuing massacres in occupied southern Lebanon, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

56. The delegation of the State of Qatar has denounced the Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories, in particular the policy of building illegal Jewish settlements, which is considered to be one of the main obstacles to the achievement of peace in the Middle East. My delegation

therefore urges the members of the Council to give rein to the will of the international community, which Israel has thus far been able to thwart, and thereby to discharge fully their responsibility in the face of this act of wanton aggression against the Palestinian people and to grant that people its national and political rights, undiminished, as set forth in United Nations resolutions.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Sudan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

58. Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure, Sir, to extend to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We are fully confident that your diplomatic abilities and wide experience will enable you to lead the work of the Council to a successful conclusion.

59. At the same time, I cannot but convey our great appreciation to Mr. Ling Qing, the representative of the friendly People's Republic of China, for the competence with which he guided the Council last month.

60. The events and gross violations now taking place in the occupied Palestinian territories are but one link in the chain of the deliberate Zionist plot by which Israel has been seeking for many years to annihilate the Arab people of Palestine and to destroy completely the foundation of its Arab, Christian and Islamic cultural life throughout the occupied Arab territories.

61. In putting into practice this criminal aggressive scheme, Israel has not confined itself to waging war after war on various spurious pretexts and justifications. Rather, after achieving large-scale expansion and occupation, it has resorted to practices runing the gamut of acts of terrorism and crimes against the Arab citizens and against their holy places and their lands in order to force them, directly or indirectly, to abandon their homes and lands and to flee for their lives.

62. Persisting in its folly and intoxicated with its own military might, Israel continues to implement its settlements scheme with all the means at the disposal both of the State and the authorities—and these means are numerous—and of the citizenry itself, through various organizations, parties and individuals. This endeavour complements and supplements the acts of the Government and is daily reflected in numerous reports of crimes, assassinations and acts of aggression committed against the population of Arab territories, who stand steadfast under occupation despite torture, humiliation and terrorism. They are defenceless save for their belief in their God, their homeland, their lands and their usurped rights. This is a condition imposed on them while groups of imported Zionist settlers are permitted to bear all kinds of weapons and use all means to carry out murder and terrorism. This is happening in a State that is armed to the teeth and, as was stated by a previous speaker the other day, one that not only acquires weapons from the most modern arsenals but even manufactures them for sale in the worst markets, such as that of racist South Africa.

63. The recent events in Al-Khalil and other Arab cities and towns and the attack on the Islamic University of Al-Khalil on 26 July, with the shooting of 3 of its Arab students and the wounding of 40 others, are all part and parcel of the Zionist terrorist scheme designed to drive the indigenous population from the Arab territories and to Judaize them completely.

64. The Council has met every time that Israel carries out another phase in its criminal settler scheme, even though the Council declared three years ago that the settlements established by Israel in the Arab territories occupied since 1967 were illegal and should be dismantled, since their presence constituted a major impediment to peace, as stated in resolution 465 (1980) and other relevant resolutions of the Council. But Israel still persists in its folly, heedless of resolutions adopted by the entire world represented in the Council as the supreme international organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. As is clearly evident from its policies and practices, Israel pays no heed to international norms and laws which consider its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories illegal and which stipulate that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible. All international instruments, foremost among them the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] call upon the occupying Power to respect the rights of the population of the occupied territories and prohibit their deportation or evacuation by any means, not to mention acts of terrorism which Israel persistently commits every day. Naturally, Israel realizes all of this, but, as repeatedly stated by its representative before the Council and other United Nations organs, it will not comply with resolutions nor be guided by international instruments and norms so long as it can act with impunity.

65. The intransigence and arrogance of Israel and its denial of the existence of the Palestinian Arab people and their legitimate rights to self-determination and to their lands, its use of terrorism, threats and force to destroy and annihilate the Palestinian Arab people, to humiliate them and bring them to their knees, instead of acknowledging their legitimate rights that have been acknowledged by the whole world, all affirm the magnitude of Israel's dependence on and belief in oppression, war, aggression, expansion and terrorism as the sole option in its relations with the Palestinians and the Arabs.

66. Together with others in the Council and in other important international bodies, we have called upon Israel to realize fully that peace is indivisible and that justice is not confined to any one people. The question of Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people are without a doubt at the core of the conflict in the Middle East. There can be no lasting, comprehensive and just peace in that region without Israel's total withdrawal from the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the restoration of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including

their rights to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State on their territory under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. Here I should like to reiterate the support of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and their solidarity with the heroic and valiant struggle being waged by the fraternal Palestinian Arab people and with the PLO and its leaders, who are the symbol of the Palestinian revolution, and our brother, the valiant freedom fighter Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO.

67. The failure of the United Nations and of the entire international community represented in the Council so far to induce Israel to renounce its policy of establishing settlements gives rise to concern and indignation. But we hope that the Council will this time condemn and denounce Israel's barbaric actions in the occupied Arab territories and hold it fully responsible for those crimes. It is incumbent upon the Council, since it is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take such measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations as would put an end to the Israeli practices which fall outside the laws and norms forming the basis of relations among nations, foremost among which is international law and the Charter. We sincerely hope that the present meetings of the Council will not, like their predecessors, be a mere reaction to another link in the chain of acts carried out by the Israeli conspirators against the Palestinians and Arabs pending yet another link and another series of meetings of the Council. We call upon the entire international community to assume its political, humanitarian and moral duties towards the Palestinian Arab people, who have been suffering from the scourge of oppression, displacement, terrorism and deprivation—and even massacres and genocide—for half a century while the conscience of the world and humanity remains silent.

68. Mr. MARGETSON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like to join others in warmly welcoming you to the presidency of the Council. I am sure that your wit and diplomatic skills will steer us safely through this period.

69. I should like also to thank the representative of China, whose skilful and courteous way of dealing with our affairs was particularly noticeable during his term as President of the Council in the month of July.

70. I can be brief. My delegation is on record many times as having deplored the dangerous cycle of violence and repression in the occupied territories. We do so yet again today.

71. The latest atrocity in Hebron is one of a series that will not be stopped until the underlying causes have been removed.

72. This atrocity has been condemned by the Israeli authorities at the highest level. We note that fact, and I am sure that others, even if they have not mentioned it in their statements to the Council, will have noted it also. We hope there will be a full and determined investigation into this incident, which led to the deaths of three young students and the wounding of many others at the University of Hebron.

73. During this debate we have listened to an indictment of Israel and its policies delivered very often in highly emotional language. I know emotions run deep on both sides, but I do not believe language of this sort will have much effect on Israeli attitudes or policies. Indeed, it may well serve to reinforce Israel's apparent imperviousness to the results of debates in the Council. Such language makes it easy for Israel to discount or to write off such debates as the mere froth of fanatics. It would be wrong to do so, but, surely, the Council should not make it easier for it to do so. I therefore dissociate myself from the tone of much of the criticism of Israel. I do not, however, dissociate myself from some of the substance.

74. We have listened to many speakers who have expressed the sincerely held fears of many Arabs that the Arabs in the occupied territories are being squeezed out of their land by pressures from Israeli policies and by acts of terrorism.

75. My Government regards Israeli policies in the occupied territories with profound and continuing concern. We are deeply worried by the Israeli policy on settlements. It is this that lies at the heart of the mistrust and tension there.

76. I say, yet again, that we consider these settlements to be contrary to international law and to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. This principle is embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

77. The Israeli settlements policy undermines confidence that Israel is ready to negotiate freely about the final state of the occupied territories. My Government calls on Israel, just as President Reagan has called on Israel, to put an end now to this damaging policy and to declare an immediate settlements freeze.

78. I do not suggest that it is the Israeli settlements policy which alone prevents a move by all parties towards a negotiated settlement. That is certainly not the case. But I believe the best way to lower tension now and to start to rebuild confidence between Israel and its neighbours would be to relaunch efforts towards a negotiated settlement.

79. I call on the parties to exercise the restraint that will be required if the necessary, but elusive, dialogue is to replace the unnecessary, but pervasive violence, which, I regret, characterizes the region at present.

80. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all, Sir, to congratulate you very warmly on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are convinced that our work will benefit from your diplomatic skill—characteristic of your country—and from your intelligence and experience.

81. We also wish to congratulate Mr. Ling Qing, of China, for the wise and exemplary manner in which he conducted our proceedings during the past month.

82. Since the suspension of the Council's meetings on this item, we have been kept fully informed, through letters addressed to the President of the Council, regarding the outrages and crimes of which the Palestinian people has been the victim at the hands of the Zionist Government and system in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. There is no need to go into the long list of specific instances of these crimes of which the international community is well aware. Unfortunately, it is no exaggeration to say that Zionist terrorism has manifested itself in all imaginable forms—assassinations, kidnappings, threats, imprisonment, expulsions, demolition of homes and punishment of families, landowners and entire populations.

83. Israel is indiscriminate in its abhorrent acts: children, students, women, trade unionists and refugees—all are victims of this policy. They are all considered equally guilty of what the racist régime views as a crime: being Palestinian.

84. As to the executioners of the Palestinian people, we can say that they are primarily the Israeli authorities, to which can be added the settlers, whose conduct has from time to time been criticized by the Israeli Government.

85. The appeals of the Government of Israel to the settlers not to take the law into their own hands have no credibility whatsoever, primarily because they come from those who are the instigators and the prime movers of the very abuses they would control and, secondly, because punishment of the guilty is practically non-existent, the sentences imposed being ridiculously out of proportion to the seriousness of the crimes.

86. The recent killing of Palestinians in the city of Hebron is but one link in a long chain of crimes committed by Israel in the Palestinian territories. The seriousness of the situation in the settlements is becoming more critical day by day, and the facts supplied by the PLO and Arab States should be of concern to all members of the Council. In particular, we listened attentively to the representative of Jordan when he indicated that the number of Israelis transferred to the occupied territories since 1967 had reached more than 200,000 and that Israel planned to bring that number to 200,000 persons by the end of the decade [*2457th meeting, para. 14*].

87. According to the Israeli press, since 10 May Israeli ministries and settlement organizations have launched a "Campaign to populate the settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza". That campaign is conducted by the Ministries of Agriculture, Science and Development, and Housing, together with the Organization for Settlements and other semi-official Zionist organizations.

88. To attract possible settlers, the Israeli population was bombarded with propaganda about the material benefits to be gained in the settlements.

89. In the May propaganda campaign, the Israeli Government pointed out that the number of places available for living was limited but that in the future there would be more land for all those Jews who wanted it. To facilitate decisions in favour of the settlements, the Israeli Government lends between $120,000 and $150,000 to families who live in "developing cities"—that is what the Israeli authorities have called what is nothing more than an illegal act, scorning all international norms and authority and violating peace—and that represents between four and six times more than is loaned to families living in other places in Israel.

90. The Israeli movement known as Peace Now has denounced what the Zionist Government has been saying, namely, that, since the invasion of Lebanon, Palestinians are "more willing to sell their land". What that really means is that recently there has been a considerable increase in acts of violence against the Palestinian people and a systematic increase in expropriation and plundering by the Israeli military authorities.

91. All the mistreatment inflicted on the Palestinian people has become widespread practices that have repeatedly been denounced in the United Nations. We all know that the human rights of the Palestinians, without exception, have been crudely violated by Israel, and it is practically an institutionalized process in the United Nations to search out permanent ways of curbing those practices. As Council resolution 452 (1979) declares, Israel's policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories has no legal validity and constitutes a violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.[1] Similarly, paragraph 5 of Council resolution 465 (1980) states, *inter alia:*

> "that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof have no legal validity."

92. Also, Israel is in flagrant violation of the abovementioned Geneva Convention, in particular the sixth paragraph of article 49 which prohibits the occupying Power from evacuating or from transferring a part of its own population to the territory occupied by it.

93. The draft resolution which has been circulated [*S/15895*] is a balanced document which my delegation fully supports. This draft, which is based largely on principles accepted by the Council in earlier resolutions and adheres strictly to the norms of international law, should enjoy the unanimous support of the members of the Council.

94. Neither the tortures, harassment, threats, massive reprisals nor the plundering constitutes the most serious violation of the human rights of the people of Palestine by Israel, because all that is the result of the denial of a more basic right—the right of the Palestinian people to an existence. Israel does not recognize that right and has demon-

strated that *ad nauseam*. The massive killing of Palestinians has taken place over the years, and the bloodshed in the genocidal acts at Sabra and Shatila that shocked and horrified the world is still fresh.

95. Equally important is the Palestinian people's right to self-determination; its denial is the root cause of other violations of human rights of a population of nearly 4 million. The end of military and political occupation of Palestinian territory is an indispensable prerequisite if the Palestinian people is to exercise its other rights.

96. I should like here to cite the Political Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March. We consider particularly relevant to the Council's deliberations the condemnation in that declaration of United States support of Israel in all fields, especially the military and political support, without which the Zionist State could not continue its policy of flouting and scorning the Council's resolutions and decisions; nor could it continue its illegal occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories. I would also remind the Council of the appeal made in that declaration to the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, to cease its abuse of the right of veto, which has prevented the Council from taking the necessary action to implement the universally recognized principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, and to enable the Palestinian people to recover its inalienable rights. Also relevant to this debate is the appeal made to the members of the Security Council to play their role and discharge their responsibilities so that the Council may take appropriate measures, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, to establish and guarantee peace and security in the Middle East. The time has come for the Council to take the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, in view of Israel's conduct ever since its establishment in Palestine in 1948 [*see S/15675 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex*].

97. The various preparatory meetings of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine made clear that the cause of the Palestinian people enjoys broad, world-wide support. From 11 to 15 April of this year, at the regional meeting of Latin America held at Managua, the various rights of the Palestinian people were reaffirmed and important recommendations were made to the States of the region and to the United Nations to take action to contribute to a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement of the problem of Palestine. Among the matters being dealt with by the Council which were discussed at that meeting and which appear in its final document I might mention the appeal addressed to the Council to investigate actions committed by Israel against the Palestinian people in violation of the norms of international law and to report the results of that investigation.

98. The Council was also asked to endorse the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and to use all the relevant provisions of the Charter to implement those recommendations. Regrettably, it has not been possible to do so thus far.

99. Finally, the Council was urged to consider the report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) [*S/14268*] and to reactivate that commission to determine the facts regarding the establishment of unlawful settlements by Israel in the occupied territories and the consequences thereof.

100. In the light of these recommendations and on the eve of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, to be held at Geneva, the time is appropriate for the Council to take action as the primary body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. Recommendations such as these and the actions set forth in the draft resolution now before the Council [*S/15895*] constitute urgent and immediate tasks for the Council. The Arab States, the PLO and all peoples that cherish peace and justice are hoping that the Council and its members will abide by their inescapable obligations, for failure to do so would seriously jeopardize the prestige, effectiveness and role of this distinguished body and the role it should play.

101. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Bahrain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

102. Mr. AL-SABBAGH (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, permit me to express our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August and to pay a tribute to your abilities and your experience in successfully conducting the work of the Council.

103. I am also pleased to express our appreciation to the representative of China for the masterful way in which he presided over the proceedings of the Council during the month of July.

104. The acts of violence that have occurred in Al-Khalil, Nablus, Bir Zeit and other towns of the West Bank are the inevitable result of Israel's continuous occupation and of the perpetuation of its aggressive expansionist policy. Israel has confiscated about 60 per cent of the territory of the West Bank, not to mention Gaza and the Golan Heights. It resorts to systematic terrorization of the inhabitants of these territories, forcing them to leave their towns and villages.

105. The Jewish bands that ravaged the Islamic University of Al-Khalil on 26 July, killing three innocent civilians and injuring many others, were a manifestation of that systematic policy of carefully planned terrorist activities against Arab citizens in order to force them to flee their homeland. It is no secret that these repressive measures are carried out in full view and with the knowledge of the Israeli army and security forces. These activities fall within a series of acts of systematic Israeli terrorism exemplified by the massacres of Sabra and Shatila and, a few years earlier, in the massacres of Qibya and Deir Yassin.

106. The mass poisoning to which schoolgirls in the West Bank were subjected last March, as well as the consequences for the Arab inhabitants there, ranging from fear to mass hysteria, were covered in detail in the international press.

107. All this has taken place against the backdrop of the impotence of the United Nations, the Security Council and the international community. Yet everyone realizes the heavy moral and political responsibility borne by the United Nations *vis-à-vis* Palestine and its Arab population.

108. Israel owes its existence to resolution 181 (II) adopted by the General Assembly on 29 November 1947. Ever since then, world public opinion has become well aware of Israel's expansionist designs and its continuous acts of terrorism against the Arab population. In these crimes Israel has invoked historical and Talmudic claims, as well as giving security reasons. While this has taken place, there has been complete apathy of international morals and conscience. Those who claim to defend human rights should not close their eyes to what has been taking place in the occupied Arab territories in flagrant violation of human rights, which are the same for everyone and not confined to one people to the exclusion of others. The friends and allies of Israel must persuade it to comply with the Council's resolutions.

109. Israel's policy in the occupied Arab territories, especially in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, is based on annexation. To achieve that goal, it has used all means to oppose the achievement of a just and lasting peace and has frustrated all efforts and peace initiatives, the latest being the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982 [*see S/15510, annex*].

110. In applying that policy, Israel has resorted to violence and the use of force, considering war a convenient way to oppose the aspirations of the Arab peoples. It has at all times sought to impose capitulation on the Arabs and to force the Palestinians to abandon their lands so that they can be settled by Zionists.

111. Side by side with this military activity is the policy of establishing settlements. The tactic followed, with complete logic, has been to perpetuate chaos and disorder, leading to the dismemberment of these areas. Israel's security is based on its pursuing pre-emptive war against its Arab neighbours and the other States of the region. This logic led it to bombard the Iraqi nuclear reactor that was built for peaceful purposes.

112. In its resolution 465 (1980), the Council condemned the policy of settler-expansionism of Israel, declaring that all the measures taken were illegal and stated that continuation of that policy obstructed efforts to establish a just peace in the region and contravened all international norms and laws concerning war and the occupation of territories.

113. The sixth paragraph of article 49 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] stipulates that: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies." The policy of establishing settlements is a flagrant violation of that principle.

114. The State of Bahrain appeals to the Council to discharge fully the responsibilities entrusted to it under the Charter of the United Nations. It must fulfil its obligations to protect the populations of the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories from the acts of aggression being carried out by armed Israeli settlers. The great Powers, because of their special responsibilities for safeguarding peace and security in the region, and as a matter of right and justice, must also work towards that end by bringing pressure to bear on Israel in conformity with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

115. The response of the Council to the request to call this important meeting underlines the gravity of the events that have overtaken the population of the occupied Arab Palestinian territories, as well as of the threats that imperil peace and security in the Middle East. The question of Palestine lies at the heart of the Middle East problem; the wishes of the Palestinian people must be realized and they must be enabled to have their own State on their national soil. The Council must call for implementation of resolution 465 (1980), which stressed the illegality and illegitimacy of the Israeli settlements. The best way to end the Arab-Israeli conflict is to reach a just and lasting peace, acceptable to all parties, through implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council. The Council must redouble its efforts to compel Israel to respect its relevant resolutions and to take into account the national, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as well as their right to exercise self-determination under the leadership of the PLO.

116. Israel, as I mentioned earlier, owes both its very existence and the recognition of that existence to a United Nations resolution. It should not therefore be very difficult for the Council, with the authority vested in it under the Charter, to compel Israel to implement the Council's resolutions concerning the illegality of the Israeli settlements, as well as other resolutions of the Council, such as resolution 242 (1967). That would be conducive to the strengthening of confidence of peoples and States in the United Nations as an edifice of peace and justice, as well as to increasing the confidence of the world in the Organization and in its ability to halt aggression and to establish peace, security and justice in a region that has experienced so much chaos and anguish, a region whose States must now turn their energies to development in an atmosphere of genuine peace.

117. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): First of all, may I extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency. The Council will undoubtedly benefit greatly from the outstanding abilities you have shown on so many occasions.

118. I should also like to pay a tribute to the representative of China, who presided over the Council with so much wisdom and patience in the month of July.

119. This is not the first time this year that we have met to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories. Recent disturbances in the city of Hebron have made it imperative, however, to address this question urgently once more. The Netherlands Government condemns the recent killings committed in that city that claimed the life of one Israeli student who was stabbed to death in the town market-place on 7 July and the lives of three Arab students, as well as the wounding of many others when masked gunmen opened fire on a crowd of students at the Islamic University of Hebron on 26 July. At present it is still unclear who committed these shameful acts. As the occupying Power, however, the Government of Israel bears responsibility for maintaining order in the occupied territories. We note that the Israeli authorities have announced that they will investigate the various incidents in and around Hebron. We call upon them to conduct such investigations thoroughly and extensively and to see to it that those responsible for these acts are brought to justice.

120. In his letter dated 11 July 1983 [*S/15865*], the representative of Israel has informed us of the decision of the Israeli authorities to dismiss the appointed Mayor of Hebron, Mr. Mustafa Al-Natshe, and the members of the City Council. We deplore that decision, and we disagree with the reasons given for it. In our opinion, the Mayor of Hebron can hardly be blamed for the disturbances in his city, which are caused mainly by outside pressures. Instead of dismissing the Mayor, a clear decision of the Israeli authorities not to allow the expansion of Israeli settlements into the centre of that city would have been more helpful in calming down the situation.

121. The events in Hebron are visible evidence of the negative and dangerous consequences of Israel's settlement policy. The position of the Netherlands on this matter is quite clear. We have repeatedly stated that the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907[2] and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] are applicable to the territories occupied in 1967. It is therefore our firm view that the Israeli settlements in those territories, as well as the changes in the status and in the demographic structure of those territories, which are a major source of tension, have no legal validity under international law. Moreover, Israel's settlements policy runs counter to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, as specified in Council resolution 242 (1967). During his recent visit to Israel, the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hans van den Broek, reiterated this view. Moreover, we have repeatedly called upon the Government of Israel to rescind forthwith its decision further to increase the number of settlements in the occupied territories. Each construction or expansion of a settlement will only increase the strong and justified resentment of the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

122. I whole-heartedly agree with the remarks made by the representative of the United Kingdom with regard to the tone of the present debate. At the same time, however, this debate reaffirms once more the nearly unanimous view of the international community that the Israeli settlement policies and practices have grave consequences for all efforts and initiatives towards a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is a matter of grave concern to my Government that all peace efforts in the Middle East now seem to have bogged down again. Israel's settlements policy is clearly one of the most serious obstacles to progress towards a peaceful settlement in the area. However, another essential prerequisite for peace is that all parties to the conflict recognize the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries. In our opinion, the achievement of a comprehensive and lasting peace is hardly conceivable without all parties adhering to this fundamental principle, which, as is well-known, was set out by the nine member States of the European Community in their declaration published at Venice of 13 June 1980 [*S/14009*]. The Netherlands, for its part, remains convinced that there can be no real peace or stability in the region unless the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that this implies, is recognized and laid down in a comprehensive settlement, which would at the same time recognize the principle of security for all States in the region.

123. In conclusion, let me state that the Netherlands will cast a positive vote on the draft resolution, contained in document S/15895, concerning the situation in the occupied territories. In casting our positive vote on this draft, however, we wish to place on record that in our view the wording of operative paragraph 6 should have been more balanced. As I have stated before, the Netherlands condemns all killings which have recently taken place in Hebron.

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

125. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month, and I extend thanks to you, and through you to the members of the Council, for allowing my delegation to participate in the deliberations on this important question.

126. I should also like to express gratitude to Mr. Ling Qing, the representative of the People's Republic of China, for his wise conduct of the Council's work last month.

127. The Council meets once again to consider the problem of the Palestinian people and the situation in the occupied territories in general. The situation has been deteriorating from day to day as a result of the practices of the Zionist entity, or, rather, the neo-Nazi entity. These practices have been carried out consistently and systematically for more than 30 years, during which the neo-Nazis

have perpetrated crimes and illegal and immoral acts which contravene the Charter of the United Nations, and the international convenants on human rights that govern the occupied territories, the principle of equality and the right of peoples to self-determination. This entity did not confine itself to the usurpation of Palestinian territories in 1948 and non-compliance with United Nations resolutions; it persisted in a racist policy of annexation, forcing the Arab population to evacuate their territories so as to bring in aliens from various parts of the world and arming them. Human rights have been consistently violated in the occupied Arab territories, and discriminatory racist laws have been imposed against the Arabs.

128. The Zionist entity has committed acts of aggression against the neighbouring Arab countries, attacked the nuclear reactor in Baghdad, invaded Lebanon, where its forces are still sowing terror among the civilian population, annexed the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, despite the opposition of the international community, and has been establishing settlements illegally in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. It has established more than 150 settlements on more than 50 per cent of the land in the West Bank, using more than 80 per cent of the water sources. There are more than 150,000 new invaders in the West Bank and Gaza, to say nothing of those in the Golan Heights. Since 1967, the Zionist occupation authorities have issued more than 1,000 military decrees to justify their illegal practices, in contravention of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] which prohibits any demographic or geographic change in occupied territories.

129. As for the violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, these have taken several forms, including depriving the Arabs of education by closing down universities and schools, expelling teachers and changing the curricula; the dismissal of elected mayors; the demolition of houses; the imposition of mass punishments; the desecration of places of worship; and the periodic imposition of a curfew on some towns in the West Bank.

130. Those policies and practices of the neo-Nazi entity proceed from odious racist dogmas, such as those of "God's chosen people" and "Greater Israel" and the establishment of a State in which there is room only for the Jew, as defined by zionism. The leaders of the Zionist movement direct their aggression against the Arab people because the Zionists consider Arabs to be the major impediment to the realization of the expansionist schemes of zionism and a threat to the Jewish character of the State of Israel.

131. Hence, the arming of the settlers is a concrete expression of the ideas of fanatical Zionists such as Rabbi Meir Kahane, who has been calling for the expulsion of all non-Jews from Israel. Even when it comes to Jews, Rabbi Kahane has a certain opinion as to who is to be considered a Jew. Thus, there is racist discrimination between adherents of the Jewish religion. This rabbi also calls for the exercise of democracy in Israel to be confined to the Jews, depriving the indigenous Arab population, Christians and Muslims, of any democracy. These declared ideas are the essence of the concrete practices currently unfolding in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. The most recent example was the terrorist attack on the Islamic University of Al-Khalil, on 26 July, which resulted in the murder of three university students and the wounding of many others.

132. I do not wish to burden the Council with the details of events. Suffice it to recall the statement in this regard of our brother, Zehdi Labib Terzi, the representative of the PLO, to the Council on 28 July [*2457th meeting*].

133. The policy of the neo-Nazi Zionist entity is one of aggression, expansion, terrorism and racism, which is defended sometimes by the pretext of security and at other times by that of religious right. This policy will persist, despite the outcry and appeals of the world conscience. As the General Assembly was told by Mr. Victor Gauci, Rapporteur of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, on 30 November 1982:

> "Influential voices assert with greater conviction that it is time to call a halt to this policy and to the muddled approaches of the past.
>
> "Perhaps the most poignant and significant call for a new approach was made on 26 October . . . by the novelist Amos Kenan. Let me use his own words:
>
> > 'As long as you Americans help us to stand up, we Israelis have no chance to stand on our own feet. We have no chance to have peace as long as you support us in war. We have no chance to straighten out our relationships with our neighbours as long as you help us forget that they, too, are legitimate children of humanity and that they, too, have legitimate rights.'"[3]

134. The tragedy of the Palestinian people and the instability in the Arab region should be laid at the door of successive American Administrations. The international community knows that the Zionist entity could not have persisted in murdering thousands of Arabs, displacing an entire people and carrying on a policy of expansion and aggression without the enormous economic and military assistance flowing unconditionally from the United States, aid which was used for murdering the Palestinian people, for repeated acts of aggression against the Arab States and for establishing settlements.

135. According to *The New York Times* of 26 June, American assistance to the Zionist entity has amounted over the past years to more than $25 billion; the same source states that the assistance allocated by the present American Administration to that entity amounts to 2.5 billion, including military assistance of $1.7 billion. That figures in the annual budget and is in addition to large sums proposed by some members of Congress to increase support for the Israeli war machine.

136. Nor has the unlimited support of the United States for the Zionist entity been confined to the military and

economic fields; it extends to the political and human spheres as well and to the signing of the strategic co-operation agreement between the United States and the Zionists.

137. The position taken in the United Nations, and particularly in the Security Council and other international forums, by the United States Government in support of the Zionist entity is well known. It is proof of the collusion of the United States Government with the Zionist régime in its policy of aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation aimed at imposing American-Zionist solutions of capitulation and American hegemony and control in the Arab region. Acts of military provocation and terrorism by United States ships and planes in the Arab region, and the American policy, which is completely biased in favour of the Zionist aggressor, have exacerbated tensions in the region, increased the threats to international peace and security and obstructed all international efforts and initiatives to achieve peace in the Middle East.

138. The actions of the United States Government have been brought about by the blackmail of United States officials and institutions by Zionist organizations and by the intervention of those organizations in United States political life and by all kinds of immoral means to control American decision-makers and put pressure on them in the service of the Zionist entity.

139. The United States Government uses the Zionist entity as a tool with which to control the Arab region and to sow discord among Jews, Christians and Muslims.

140. It has been universally acknowledged that the core of the Middle East question is the question of Palestine and that any solution of that question which does not take account in the first place of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its territory will remain incomplete and be doomed to failure.

141. In order to prevent the Council's current deliberations from becoming another occasion on which mere concern is expressed over the plight of the Palestinian people, we call on the Council to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter by holding the Zionist entity responsible for these acts of terrorism and condemning its expansionist Zionist practices and policies in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. The Council must take concrete steps to deter the aggressor, end the policy of establishing settlements and dissuade States from aiding the Zionist entity in pursuing its settlements policy and its violation of human rights in the occupied territories.

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

143. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Sir, I congratulate you, the representative of France, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We believe that your well-known acumen will serve the Council, and all of us, in very good stead.

144. Our appreciation goes also to your predecessor, Mr. Ling Qing, representative of the People's Republic of China, who successfully guided the deliberations of the Council during the month of July with wisdom and dedication.

145. The Council is again considering the consequences of the aggressive policy of Israel, which is stopping at nothing in order to subjugate the people and illegally acquire Palestinian and other Arab territories. This is being done by aggression, repression and persecution. The expansion into the territory of neighbouring countries is continuing.

146. The crisis in the region is continually being exacerbated, and the indiscriminate use of force and arms has brought about a situation in which peace and security have practically ceased to exist. In this environment of aggression and terror imposed by Israel, illegal settlement on Palestinian and Arab soil and property is continuing, in flagrant violation of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

147. The Palestinian issue cannot be resolved by terror and repression in the Palestinian homeland. Violence perpetrated by the occupation forces against the Palestinian people, against its youth and its students, is aimed at intimidating them and at annihilating their resolve not to be enslaved and not to yield in the face of threats of further destruction and usurpation.

148. The Palestinian people has more than once shown that it will not surrender its rights to independence and freedom. No one can deprive this courageous and martyred people of those rights today; its struggle merits our full-fleged solidarity and support.

149. The peoples of Yugoslavia fought and won their freedom and independence, and they are jealously guarding it. This is one of the sources of our support of the people of Palestine and of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, and of our belief that freedom cannot exist if it is not enjoyed by all.

150. Last week, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, paid a visit to Yugoslavia. The President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Mika Spiljak, had talks with Chairman Arafat. Mr. Spiljak pointed out on that occasion once again that the just aspirations of the Palestinian people should receive the undivided support of all countries and peoples dedicated to freedom, independence and peace.

151. The non-aligned countries have repeatedly pointed out that the Israeli policy of aggression in the Middle East is one of the most dangerous threats to peace and security in the world. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, non-aligned countries once

again strongly supported the Palestinian cause and called for a solution of the crisis based on the principles of the policy of non-alignment and of the Charter of the United Nations.

152. Yugoslavia, together with other non-aligned countries, considers that the question of Palestine and the Middle East conflict can be settled only in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. Such a settlement must be just, comprehensive and lasting; it should ensure the withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and enable the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, to exercise its inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence and to establish an independent and sovereign State in Palestine.

153. It is inadmissible to acquire territory by force. This is why the non-aligned countries rejected all Israeli policies designed to modify the geographical characteristics, demographic composition or legal status of the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967 and why they do not recognize any change made by Israel in those territories.

154. Furthermore, no solution can be considered justified and comprehensive without the participation of the PLO in negotiations on an equal footing. This implies recognition of the right of all States and peoples of the region to independence within secure and recognized borders, free from the threat or use of force.

155. Sixteen years ago the Council adopted resolution 242 (1967), calling for the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied after 5 June 1967. After all these years, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem remain under occupation, and so do the Golan Heights and a considerable part of Lebanon. Such behaviour by Israel is a challenge to which the Council should respond. We should like to repeat here again that the right of Lebanon to independence should be upheld and its territorial integrity restored.

156. The United Nations is and has to remain the centre of the activities aimed at resolving the question of Palestine and laying the foundations of peace and security in that region. We should like to note that the PLO has once again shown its faith in the United Nations and in this body in particular, rightfully expecting the Council to find an adequate response to halt the Israeli aggression, expansion and oppression and to uphold the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

157. The realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State can neither be postponed nor tampered with. In these times of trial, the Palestinian people and the PLO, as its sole legitimate representative, need and deserve our support in order to safeguard and strengthen their unity and independence.

158. It is our view that the Council should reaffirm that the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are illegal and inadmissible and should make one more effort to exert real and effective pressure in order to halt such Israeli policy. The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, bear a great responsibility for the achievement by the Palestinian people of the exercise of their rights and for the solution of the crisis in the Middle East, and this task is a duty of utmost priority.

159. Bearing in mind all these facts and the urgency of the situation, we urge the Council to adopt the draft resolution that has been submitted to it [*S/15895*], sponsored by the Group of Arab States.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

[2] Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

[3] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 84th meeting, para. 99 and 100.

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